

The
American Historical Review

THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINES AND THEIR BISHOPS
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE relations between the religious orders and the diocesan episcopate form not the least interesting chapter in the history of the medieval Church. It is with one phase of the story that this article deals. The black monks of St. Benedict are taken for consideration partly because the Benedictines were the largest monastic order, and partly because, unlike the Carthusians and Cistercians, their houses were for the most part not exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. The fullness of English records permits of a more thorough examination of monachism in England than seems possible in the case of any other country. As institutions vary from generation to generation, this study has been further restricted to the thirteenth century, when the medieval Church reached the height of its development.

The internal affairs of a monastery were in charge of its superior, the abbot or prior, who, according to the rule of St. Benedict,¹ was elected by the entire community or by its wiser part. The right of election "can never pass for a privilege which detracts from the legitimate authority of the bishops. . . . On the contrary, he (St. Benedict) appeals to the bishops themselves to oppose the election if the monks have chosen not a censor of their faults, but one who would flatter them, and to place over the house of the Lord a worthy governor."² After choosing its abbot, a convent made known to the bishop of the diocese the result of the election and asked that he give it his episcopal confirmation. One example, taken from a monastic chartulary, will suffice to show the process.

On the eve of St. John Baptist's Day, 1261, the prior of St.

¹ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXVI. 879, ch. lxiv.

² Thomassin, *Ancienne et Nouvelle Discipline de l'Eglise*, I. iii, c. 12.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXIV.—38. (565)

Peter's, Bath, died. The subprior and convent sent messengers to the bishop, informing him of the prior's death and praying for license to elect his successor. This license was formally granted by the bishop on the following day. The convent proceeded to elect its prior, and the election was confirmed by the bishop when the result was made known to him.³

The application to the bishop for license to elect, which was part of the procedure followed by the monks of Bath, was unusual. Freedom of election belonged to each monastic community "as a natural privilege and a common right".⁴ The priory of St. Peter was the cathedral chapter of the diocese of Bath, and, although the prior was the actual superior of the convent, the bishop held theoretically the position of abbot.⁵ It was on that account that the convent applied to him for license to elect. A similar license was sought by the abbey of Eynsham, but for another reason; the Bishop of Lincoln from whom they asked the desired permission was the patron of the abbey, *ejusdem domus patronus*.⁶ Saving, however, for exceptional circumstances, a monastery did not require episcopal permission for the election of its superior.

Confirmation of an abbatial election was not an empty formality; the diocesan might withhold his confirmation for reasons which to him seemed sufficient. The election of Thomas Whalley as abbot of Selby in 1270 was quashed by the Archbishop of York, Walter Giffard, who then appointed as abbot the same man, and sent to the convent notice of the appointment with an order that the new superior be obeyed.⁷ Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, quashed the election of Thomas de Kerdinton to the priory of Caldwell, on the ground of defective vision, paralysis, old age, and ignorance, *propter defectum persone tam pro debilitate visus quam propter morbum paralitic' et etiam propter senium et insufficientiam litterature*;⁸ an array of defects which would seem to be good warrant for the bishop's action.

After confirmation of his election, the new head of a religious

³ *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath* (Somerset Record Society, 1893), nos. 253-259.

⁴ Thomassin, *Ancienne et Nouvelle Discipline*, I. iii, c. 32.

⁵ On the relation of a bishop to his cathedral chapter when it was composed of monks, see a letter of Innocent III., in *Patrologia Latina*, CCXIV. 1076-1083. The concordat of 1205 between the bishop and chapter of Bath is summarized in A. Luchaire, *Innocent III.: le Concile de Latran* (Paris, 1908), p. 127.

⁶ *Rotuli Grosseteste necnon Lexington* (Lincoln Record Society), p. 459.

⁷ *Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York* (Surtees Soc., 1904), pp. 217-220.

⁸ *Rotuli Grosseteste*, p. 325.

house was installed by the bishop or a deputy acting for him. Records of the institution and induction of abbots and priors are to be found in the various episcopal registers.⁹ It may here be pointed out that the priors of dependent houses, or cells of greater abbeys, were not elected by the monks of the priory, but were appointed by the abbot of the mother-house. This was because the monks of such a priory were members of the community, *commonachi*, of the mother-house, and not a separate convent; and their prior ranked as an administrative official of the great monastery.¹⁰ The appointment of the prior of a dependent house required episcopal confirmation, and the bishop instituted on presentation by the abbot and convent.¹¹ A priory situated in a diocese other than that in which was the mother-house, was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese in which it was itself situated; and it was to him that the prior-designate would be presented for institution.¹² With the exempt abbeys, free from all diocesan jurisdiction, we are not here concerned; their elections were confirmed not by the bishop of the diocese, but by the pope.¹³

So important was his office that, after the election had been duly confirmed, an abbot received benediction, *munus benedictionis*, from the bishop; for his office was a spiritual one. At an earlier date this seems to have been made an occasion for requiring perquisites from the monasteries, but in 1138 a synod meeting at Westminster under the presidency of the papal legate provided that "at the consecration of bishops or benediction of abbots no cope nor ecclesiastical vestment nor anything else should be demanded".¹⁴ Similar provisions can be found among the privileges granted by the popes to individual monasteries.¹⁵

⁹ E. g., *ibid.*, p. 509; *Reg. Romeyn* (Surtees Soc., 1913, 1916), I. 139; *Reg. Halton* (Canterbury and York Soc., 1913), I. 216; *Reg. Swinfield* (*ibid.*, 1909), pp. 426, 524; *Rotuli Welles* (Linc. Rec. Soc., 1912-1914), II. 136.

¹⁰ In the election of an abbot, the priors of dependent houses were summoned to take part; an indication that they were members of the community. See an account of the election of the abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, 1284, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, R. S., vol. III., no. dcccxxxi.

¹¹ *Rotuli Grosseteste*, p. 255; *Rotuli Welles*, III. 44, 150.

¹² E. g., the Bishop of Hereford instituted the prior of Bromfield, a cell of St. Peter's, Gloucester, *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 426; and the Bishop of Lincoln, the prior of St. Leonard's, Stamford, a cell of Durham, *Rotuli Welles*, III. 121.

¹³ So the Lateran Council, 1215, decreed; see *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, R. S., I. 307.

¹⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 415.

¹⁵ E. g., "Inhibemus ne quis pro benedictione abbatis . . . palefredum vel cappam seu quodlibet aliud . . . a monasterio vestro exigere vel extorquere presumat"—a Bardeney privilege. MS. Cotton. Vesp. E. XX., f. 24.

The benediction of an abbot was an occasion of great solemnity. In this the abbot might be the central figure, but care was taken that the bishop be shown the respect and honor due his position. So in an agreement made in 1237 between Archbishop Edmund Rich and the abbot and convent of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, it was stated that when the archbishop should come to bless the abbot, he was to be received by the convent with a procession and the ringing of bells.¹⁶

Of far greater importance than such ceremonial recognition of the episcopal dignity was the fact that on receiving benediction the new abbot made his pledge of canonical obedience to the diocesan, by which he admitted that he was subject to the bishop's jurisdiction.¹⁷ An abbot whose monastery had a dependent house in a diocese other than his own, took the oath of obedience to the bishop of that other diocese for the priory which his abbey had there. So we find Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, citing the abbot of Reading to appear before him to take the pledge of canonical obedience for the priory of Leominster and churches which Reading Abbey had in the diocese of Hereford.¹⁸ The abbot's profession, as it was called,¹⁹ is not recorded in Bishop Swinfield's register; but the bishop's jurisdiction was unquestionably recognized, for his exercise of it is more than once mentioned.²⁰ This particular case is the more worthy of note because the bishop had recognized the plenary jurisdiction of the abbey over Leominster, seven months before issuing his citation,²¹ an acknowledgment which he confirmed two years later.²² There was a long-standing quarrel between the bishops of Hereford and the abbots of Reading in regard to Leominster priory, a quarrel which Swinfield inherited from his predecessor,²³ but which evidently came to an end during his episcopate.²⁴

The most important exercise of episcopal jurisdiction over religious houses was the visitation, made by the bishop either in person

¹⁶ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, I. 238. Pope Gregory IX.'s confirmation of the composition is given in *K. R. Misc. Bk. 27*, f. 93.

¹⁷ The pledge made by the prior of St. Martin's, Dover, to the Archbishop of Canterbury is illustrative. *Reg. Peckham* (Canterbury and York Soc.), p. 207.

¹⁸ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 21.

¹⁹ "... qui professionem suam, ut moris est, fecit. ..." *Ibid.*, p. 302.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 111, 131, 149.

²¹ On April 20, 1283. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²² On April 19, 1285. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²³ *Reg. Cantilupe* (Canterbury and York Soc., 1907), p. 263, *passim*; *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 28-32, 38.

²⁴ The register of his successor, Adam de Orleton, gives no indication that he had any trouble on this score.

or by deputy, with a view to maintaining faith and discipline in the monasteries and correcting any abuses which might there be found. Visitations were not formalities perfunctorily performed; they were thorough-going attempts to ascertain whether the life of the community visited was in accordance with the precepts of the Church and the monastic rule, and whether all its affairs, temporal as well as spiritual, were in satisfactory condition.²⁵

Records of visitations are to be found in the various episcopal registers, but in a number of cases no information is given other than that the bishop visited a certain monastery;²⁶ more often yet we have merely the announcement that on a given day the bishop would hold a visitation.²⁷ Further, the registers are so incomplete as records of episcopal activity that it would be rash to assume that we have a full list of the visitations of monastic houses made by any English bishop of the thirteenth century.²⁸

How searching the questions might be, by which the visitor sought to become informed as to the state of affairs in a monastery, may be judged from a set of "articles on which inquiry is to be made in the visitation of regulars", used apparently by the bishops of Ely.²⁹ These included questions as to whether the monks were obedient to the abbot, lived continently, observed silence in the cloister and at table, came regularly to service, always wore the monastic habit, and observed the fasts prescribed by the Church. Each member of the convent was asked whether in any particular there was need of correction and reformation in the person or administration of the abbot and other officials of the monastery, and also whether he knew or thought there was room for improvement in any one of the brethren. Questions were asked regarding the property of the monastery; whether the convent was in debt, and, if so, to whom and for what amount; whether any of its possessions had been alienated, and so on. An examination conducted along such lines, with questions asked of each member of the community, the lay brothers as well as the professed monks, could not but give

²⁵ On this see G. G. Coulton, "The Interpretation of Visitation Documents", *English Historical Review*, XXIX. 16-39.

²⁶ E. g., *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 104; *Reg. Godfrey Giffard* (Worcestershire Hist. Soc., 1898, 1902), pp. 6, 379.

²⁷ E. g., *Reg. Wickwane* (Surtees Soc., 1907), pp. 28, 54; *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 67; *Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, p. 157.

²⁸ The largest number of monastic visitations recorded in any episcopal register of the thirteenth century is in that of Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, 1265-1301. Other registers, e. g., that of Grosseteste, have practically none.

²⁹ Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 9822, ff. 55, 56.

the visitor a mass of information sufficient in quantity and scope to serve as a basis of judgment on the condition of the convent.

Such a set of articles is of interest because it shows the various phases of conventual life into which the bishop made it his business to inquire when making a visitation; but it gives no information as to the state of the monasteries save, perhaps, by implication. The question *an persone aliquae suspecte vel contra honestatem religionis ingrediuntur infra cepta monasterii* would not be asked without reason. On the other hand, that such questions were asked, does not necessarily mean any prevalence of monastic laxity, though it may be evidence that at times the monastic rule was not carried out to the letter.

Fortunately, records of the answers given to questions asked in the course of a visitation occasionally find a place in the registers. Corrections which the bishop thought ought to be made were committed to writing and sent to the abbot and convent after a visitation; and some of these we have. From such material, the answers of the monks and the orders of the bishops, some idea can be obtained as to the state of affairs which episcopal visitations of monasteries disclosed.

The register of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, contains an account of a visitation of Selby Abbey, held in 1275, by a clerk of the archbishop.³⁰ In addition to other matters, the answers of the monks to the visitor's questions are given. They indicate an unfortunate state of affairs in general, and a low state of morality in particular:

Dominus Gilebertus de Lyndeseye, juratus et examinatus, concordat de diffamatione abbatis cum prejurato; nomen mulieris ignorat. . . . Dominus Thomas de Eyton, laicus, juratus . . . dicit de germano abbatis cum prejuratis; adiciens ipsum esse conjugatum, et quod continuat alterum adulterium cum pluribus . . . Alexander Niger, monachus, tenet Cristinam Bouere et Agnetem filiam Stephani, de qua suscitavit prolem, et quamdam mulierem nomine Anekous, de qua suscitavit vivam prolem apud Crol, et aliam apud Sneyth quae vocatur Nalle, et alias infinitas apud Eboracum et Akastre et alibi, et quasi in qualibet villa unam; et fetidissimus est, et recte modo captus fuit cum quadam muliere in campis, sicut audivit.

The picture is not a pleasant one. The answers given are refreshing in their frankness, and one must agree that *fetidissimus* was an adjective well chosen to characterize Alexander Black; but otherwise the visitor's account is sorry reading.

³⁰ *Reg. Walter Giffard*, p. 324 et seq. In part in *Coucher Book of Selby* (Yorkshire Arch. and Topog. Assoc., Record Series, vol. XIII.), II. ix.

Some four years later Archbishop Giffard's successor, William Wickwane, visited Selby Abbey in person and found much that needed to be corrected.³¹ The abbot did not observe the rule of St. Benedict; he did not sing mass; he did not preach; he did not teach; he seldom attended the chapter; he did not make corrections, as he was bound to do; he seldom ate in the refectory; he never slept in the dormitory; he seldom entered the choir; he seldom heard matins out of bed; he did not visit the sick—his list of misdeeds is indeed a long one. Alienation of property without the consent of the convent, committing manors to unsuitable persons, and appointing unworthy officials are included. One interesting charge against the abbot is that of using witchcraft to recover a body from the Ouse: "Item, compertum est quod abbas procuravit Elyam Faunelle, incantorem et sortilegum, ad querendum corpus fratris sui defuncti, submersi in aqua de Use, propter quod expendit magnam pecunie summam." Nor had the irregularity found there in Archbishop Giffard's time been removed: "Item, abbas notatur de incontinenicia cum domina de Queneby, et cum filia Bodeman manentis ad portam monasterii, de qua suscitavit prolem, ut dicitur; pro qua adhuc pendet purgacio sibi indicta per archiepiscopum jam defunctum." It is no wonder that the abbot of Selby, already excommunicate on several counts, was removed by the archbishop. The sentence of deposition and the notice of it which was sent to the king are in the register with the account of the visitation.

There is no reason to suppose that this riot of lawlessness and debauchery represented the normal state of affairs even in this particular abbey. Forty years before Giffard's day, Archbishop Gray had visited Selby Abbey and issued a decree ordering certain reforms.³² These relate entirely to the administration of the abbey, to financial matters, and the work of the officials of the convent. Archbishop John le Romeyn, who succeeded Wickwane in the see of York, visited Selby more than once.³³ The measures taken by his immediate predecessor seem to have had the intended effect; for in the one decree which his register contains concerning Selby³⁴ the archbishop merely repeats, with slight variations, the decree issued in 1233 by Gray.

Of quite another sort were the conditions which Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, found and attempted to remedy at Leonminster priory, a cell of Reading Abbey. The finances of the

³¹ *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 22 et seq.

³² *Reg. Gray* (Surtees Soc., 1872), p. 327.

³³ *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 67, 104, 151.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 70.

priory were so disorganized that the king took it under his protection and gave the custody of its estates to one of his officials to provide for the necessary wants of the monks, and for the poor; and to use whatever might remain toward paying the indebtedness of the convent.³⁵ At Leominster the monks and the townspeople shared the same church, with much resultant friction. In directions issued to the priory after a formal visitation,³⁶ the bishop forbade the locking of the church doors which prevented the free access of the people, who ought at all times to be able to enter the church to perform their devotions. The people had complained, too, that they were not allowed to ring the bells which they themselves had bought; and the bishop directs that they shall not be hindered in that pious practice. The priory had curtailed its daily distribution of food and alms to the poor; and there was a suspicion that its endowments were being misapplied. On all these points the convent was commanded to mend its ways. The directions were not followed. A few months later, the bishop wrote again and ordered³⁷ that within fifteen days the offending doors be removed, under a penalty of twenty pounds.

With the outcome of the dispute between the monks and the townspeople, we are not here concerned. The directions issued by the bishop after his visitation may show that the zeal for pure religion was not conspicuous in Leominster; but there is evidence of nothing more reprehensible than tangled finances and an unbecoming squabble about the rights to use a church. Later in the bishop's episcopate, there was a scandal concerning the relations of the sub-prior with a nun and other women; but the case was carried to the papal court, and the outcome is not recorded in the register.³⁸

It must be borne in mind, in considering these directions issued by diocesans to monasteries after making a formal visitation, that they are the exception and not the rule. Of the visitations of which there is record in the episcopal registers, an overwhelming proportion are simply mentioned as taking place; no decrees of reformation, that is, are given. This is not conclusive evidence that in the course of such a visitation the bishop found no need of giving directions aimed at improving conditions. Such directions may have been given and not recorded in the register. The presumption would seem to be, however, that it was the grave and unusual cases which were placed on record. There is no evidence, in such records

³⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 128; *Reg. Cantilupe*, p. 37.

³⁶ *Reg. Cantilupe*, p. 46 *et seq.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-267.

of visitations as we have, that anything approaching the state of affairs which archbishops Wickwane and Giffard found at Selby was other than abnormal.

Visitations were not always welcomed by the monasteries. Quite apart from the fact that a strict examination is often anything but a pleasure to the person examined, especially if he has unfortunate failings which may become known, there are reasons why an abbot and convent might prefer not to be visited by their diocesan. Bishops did not travel unaccompanied, and they and their suites must needs be entertained by the monastery. The statement that Bishop Godfrey Giffard visited Pershore priory and remained two days at the cost of the house³⁹ may imply a considerable expense to the priory. It was the common practice for ecclesiastical dignitaries to receive a fee called the procuration when they visited officially the churches and religious houses within their jurisdiction. Bishop Godfrey Giffard's register contains a memorandum that he visited the abbot and monks of Winchcombe "and received his procuration there".⁴⁰ By an abuse easily understood the fee, *procuratio ratione visitationis*, was sometimes collected when there had been no visitation; the charge being, perhaps, considered fair enough since the parish or monastery which paid it had been spared the expense of entertaining the visitor and his train. Against this, a canon was passed at the council held at Oxford in 1222 under Archbishop Langton: "archidiaconis districtius inhibemus, ne aliquo modo procurationem recipiant sine causa rationabili, nisi illa die, qua personaliter visitant ecclesias; nec procurationem nec redemptionem pro visitatione extorquere praesumant."⁴¹

This canon seems to have been ineffectual. In 1268 the council of London, held by Ottobon, the cardinal-legate, passed a similar canon with a clause added to the effect that any one who received a procuration for a visitation which he had not made was suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiae* until he made restitution.⁴²

The monks objected, too, to the intrusion into their cloister of secular clerks in the bishop's retinue. The bishop himself was able to enter because he had jurisdiction over the regular clergy of his diocese, even though he himself had been a secular priest; but that was no reason why other seculars should accompany him. St. Mary's Abbey, York, obtained a privilege from Pope Urban IV. that the archbishop in his visitation should not be accompanied by

³⁹ *Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, p. 236. See also *ibid.*, pp. 165, 243.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 588.

⁴² *Constitutiones Othoboni*, p. 114.

secular clerks, excepting two or three canons; and the privilege was transcribed into the archbishop's register.⁴³

It is not surprising that attempts were made by convents to become free from episcopal visitation. Certain abbeys obtained from the apostolic see exemption from all diocesan authority. Others tried to hinder the work of visitation or to prevent the diocesan from coming too frequently. The prior and convent of Durham appealed to the Holy See against the intended visitation of Archbishop Wickwane in 1281;⁴⁴ St. Mary's, York, obtained from Honorius III. a brief forbidding the archbishop to make a visitation more than once a year save in case of urgent necessity.⁴⁵

There was the further question whether the exemption which some monasteries possessed extended also to their dependent houses. This arose when Archbishop Peckham went to visit Great Malvern priory, a cell of Westminster, in 1283. "When he asked in due form to be admitted to visit them, R. called Baret, and R. de Vastoprato, proctors of the abbot of Westminster, arose and asserted that the priory of Great Malvern was privileged, and that neither the archbishop nor the bishop of Worcester ought to have any jurisdiction."⁴⁶ The priory seems never before to have claimed freedom from visitation; bishops of Worcester had visited it in 1234, 1237, 1238, and 1242;⁴⁷ Bishop Giffard had not only visited the priory but had deposed the prior in 1282;⁴⁸ but the king sent word that by entering Great Malvern the bishop had violated the rights of the abbot and convent of Westminster;⁴⁹ and in 1283 the bishop acknowledged the priory's exemption from diocesan jurisdiction and ordinary law.⁵⁰

The authority of the bishop as chief pastor was displayed not only in his visitations but also in synods, to which the religious houses as well as the secular clergy sent representatives when summoned by the diocesan. The practice of holding synods seems to have fallen into desuetude during the Middle Ages, but the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, directed that provincial synods be held an-

⁴³ *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 73.

⁴⁴ *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 155-164. The matter was complicated by the whole question of the archbishop's metropolitical rights over the dioceses in his province. Cf. *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham*, R. S., I. 161, 200. See also *Victoria County History, Durham*, II. 94.

⁴⁵ *Reg. Gray*, p. 152; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, 1198-1304, p. 108.

⁴⁶ *Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, pp. 170-171.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 178.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1281-1292, p. 90.

nually to control ecclesiastical life and to secure the observance of ecclesiastical law.⁵¹ For some time this canon was not obeyed; it was over half a century later that Robert Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury from 1272 to 1278, "made a representative provincial synod the regular organ for the conduct of general ecclesiastical business" in England.⁵² Attendance at synods, either diocesan or provincial, involved to some extent a recognition on the part of those present that they were subject to the jurisdiction of the prelate by whom the synod had been summoned. In the twelfth century the abbot of Battle, summoned by the Bishop of Chichester to attend his synod, refused to go; but went later as a free agent.⁵³ The priors of Binham and Wymondham, cells of St. Alban's Abbey, contested the claim of the Bishop of Norwich to jurisdiction over them, and the case was heard by a commission of three appointed by papal authority. Among the terms of the settlement which they made was the provision that the priors should come to the bishop's synod, or send a proctor or an excuse, and that at synod they should "sit as other priors".⁵⁴

It would seem that attendance at the episcopal synod was the normal fulfilment of one of the pledges given in the oath of canonical obedience: *Vocatus ad te, veniam, nisi canonico impedimento fuerim impeditus*. That monasteries which claimed to be exempt from ordinary jurisdiction should refuse to send representatives to synods was to be expected. Roger, abbot of St. Albans from 1260 to 1290, refused to appear at the Bishop of Lincoln's synod, and when the case was carried to the courts, the Court of Arches decided in favor of the abbot.⁵⁵ Archbishop Peckham had some trouble in much the same way,⁵⁶ but such cases are obviously exceptional.

In addition to visitations, in which the bishop went to the monks, and the synods, when the monks went to the bishop, there were other occasions on which convent and diocesan were brought together. There were certain rites the performance of which was normally restricted to the episcopate, and the monasteries at times required the services of a bishop for just such purposes. None but a bishop could confer holy orders, so the diocesan ordained the members of monastic communities. The services of a bishop were needed to consecrate the churches and chapels belonging to the monasteries,

⁵¹ Ernest Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation*, p. 33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵³ *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello* (London, 1846), p. 26.

⁵⁴ *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, I. 278.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 457.

⁵⁶ *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, R. S., I. 255.

and to bless their altars and ecclesiastical ornaments. From the bishop, too, were obtained the holy oil and chrism used in the sacraments of baptism and holy unction. "The chrism, the holy oil, the consecration of altars and churches, the ordination of monks or clerks who are to be advanced to holy orders, you shall receive from the diocesan bishop, if he is a Catholic and has the grace and favor of the apostolic see."⁵⁷ These words, or others of like import, appear again and again in briefs sent from Rome to the English convents. They are evidence of the diversity of ways in which the monks came in contact with the diocesan episcopate.

It was not only in the performance of episcopal functions for the monasteries, or in the exercise of his ordinary jurisdiction over the regular clergy, that a bishop came in contact with the Benedictines. His pastoral work, attending to the parochial life and activities of his diocese, involved him in relations with abbeys and priories scattered throughout the realm. "Of the members of Religious Orders in our Diocese", says a synodal statute of John de Pontissara, "some hold Churches to their own uses, others certain portions of particular tithes, others receive and keep annual pensions from Churches."⁵⁸ The monasteries, in other words, were the patrons of a large number of benefices and owned the advowson of many parishes. The monks did not themselves serve in their parishes; secular clerks were appointed to minister to the needs of the people. The episcopal registers are in large part records of institutions to livings, and they furnish us with some conception of the number of churches which religious houses held and also with information of the kind of clergy who were instituted. Such a register as that of Hugh de Welles, bishop of Lincoln from 1209 to 1235, gives us an idea of the importance of religious houses in one of the largest of English dioceses in the thirteenth century. The register is incomplete, there being ample evidence that all the bishop's official acts are not there recorded.

In the lists of institutions to churches in the diocese the following Benedictine houses are given as patrons: Abingdon, St. Albans, Bardeney, Beaulieu (a cell of St. Albans), Belvoir (another cell of the same house), Bury St. Edmunds, Coventry, Croyland, Durham, Eye, Eynsham, Freston (a cell of Croyland), Gloucester, Hertford (a cell of St. Albans), Humberston, Luffield, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Rochester, Selby, Thorney, Walden, Westminster, Winchcombe, and St. Mary's, York.

⁵⁷ *Hist. et Cart. S. Petri Glouc.*, R. S., vol. III., no. dcccxcix.

⁵⁸ *Reg. Pontissara* (Canterbury and York Soc.). I. 100

Of these it is recorded that in Hugh de Welles's episcopate St. Albans presented to five churches; Bardeney to fourteen; Beaulieu to four; Belvoir to ten; Bury St. Edmunds to two; Coventry to three; Croyland to sixteen; Durham to four; Eye to three; Eynsham to fifteen; Freston to five; Gloucester to three; Hertford to two; Peterborough to fifteen; Ramsey to thirteen; Reading to two; Rochester to two; Selby to six; Westminster to seven; Thorney to nine; St. Mary's, York, to three; and the others to one each.

Some of these institutions were to perpetual vicarages, others to chaplaincies, and a few to parsonships (*ad personatum*). There are instances in which the presentation was to a mediety, that is to say, to a part of the parish, in which case the other mediety might or might not be in the gift of the monastery. In general the presentee is described as clerk or chaplain, terms which furnish no clue as to what rank he held in the hierarchy. Eight presentees were in deacon's orders, or rather seven, for one received a second benefice without having been advanced to the priesthood. Forty-eight were subdeacons. Only one presentee is described as a priest. Some of the men were not even in the subdiaconate; the abbot of Westminster presented a man who was in minor orders, *accolitus*, he is called; and the requirement that the presentee must be ordained subdeacon occurs several times. There is little evidence that a man was expected to proceed to orders higher than that of subdeacon. Only in one case, where Thorney Abbey presented a subdeacon for institution to Haddon, is the condition expressed; unless he comes up for ordination the bishop will deprive him. On the other hand, the oft-repeated injunction that the presentee shall "frequent the schools" may be evidence that the living was given in order to enable the man to complete his course of study. Certainly it is evidence that the clerks to whom the religious houses gave their churches were not always fully qualified for their duties. And the darker side of medieval clerical life is suggested by this sentence, written of a chaplain instituted on presentation of the abbot of Croyland: "*Si in domo suo vel alibi mulierem unde mala suspicio habeatur secum tenuerit, ecclesia ipsa spoliatur.*"

ALFRED H. SWEET.

THE ORIGIN OF ENGLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

Of all political movements in recent times none is of more profound and far-reaching importance than that by which representative government, a century and a quarter ago confined to Anglo-Saxon peoples, has been extended to all states possessing or pretending to modern civilization. The cause of this phenomenon is not far to seek. A triumphing democracy finding in this system a practical compromise between strong administration and popular control suited to its needs, has seized upon it as a means of expression, a weapon, and an administrative device. It has become a universal test of liberalism and a fetish of popular government. And though there are not wanting signs of its failure to meet the expectations of its most ardent champions, and portents of its imminent modification to meet ideas and conditions which it has itself largely produced, it is, none the less, regarded by most men as the best contrivance yet proposed to convert national opinion into governmental action, to make and keep central authority sensitive to popular will. Above all, perhaps, it is the only system yet devised by which democracy can be extended to wide areas.

Including an executive and a judiciary, independent of each other and, save in cases of last resort, of the legislature, its fundamental conception, that of a central motive force embodied in an assembly drawn from all districts, classes, and interests of the nation and exercising virtual sovereignty, differentiates it from all other systems. With monarchy and oligarchy, the only forms of government which prior to its appearance were available for the administration of great territories and populations, it may be fitly compared in the incidence and efficiency of its functions. But from them it differs fundamentally in the very essence of its existence, the initiative and control of government by those upon whom it operates. There it is on an equality with such pure democracies as those of Athens and the Swiss cantons. But from them it differs in that the system they represent is incapable of territorial or numerical extension beyond narrow limits.

One might naturally suppose, therefore, that under this form of government the means by which central authority related itself to popular will would be fully provided by constitutional measures, but this is far from the fact. Constitutions supply this important rela-

tion partially or imperfectly, if at all, and the severest lesson which young democracy has to learn is that no automatic devices, least of all laws and charters, can permanently insure the honesty and efficiency of popular government. For these, many forces must be set in motion within the constitutional framework to effect that vital connection between people and administration without which statutes grow inoperative or oppressive and constitutions become curiosities of political theory.

Apart from a sound and active public conscience; the moral, political and intellectual education of the people; the instruments of publicity—press, pulpit, and the hustings—which combine to keep the people, in so far as may be, united and informed, one factor has from the beginning been recognized as absolutely essential to efficient democracy. This is the political party. “Party divisions”, said Burke more than a hundred years ago, “whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government”, and the history of politics since his day has confirmed his dictum in ways that not even he could have dreamed. Parties provide for the constitutional skeleton not merely flesh and blood but, what is fully as important, a nervous system. Public opinion may be formed through many agencies, but it is chiefly by parties that it is translated into action. By them the connection between the head of the state and its members is chiefly maintained. Without them politics tends to the anarchy of groups or the chaos of the mob. Great as their weaknesses and evils may become, parties are not merely inseparable from free government, they are the most potent forces for good or ill in modern political life as it has hitherto been constituted. In any adequate appreciation of recent history, therefore, the study of these organisms yields nothing in interest or importance even to that of constitutions themselves.

In certain ways this has been fully recognized. Few subjects have been as long or as widely discussed. Philosophers and statesmen have debated forms of government since there were philosophers and statesmen, and parties since there were parties. Publicist and politician have vied in their devotion to the subject. Especially in the home of representative government, a long array of writers from Bolingbroke through Burke, Bentham, and Brougham to Boutmy and Bryce have dedicated their talents to its elucidation. Controversy over the theories and practices of the two great English parties has filled two centuries with its clamor, and the inspiration of most English historians of that period has been found in their long rivalry. The concurrent spread of franchise and education in

more recent years has given the discussion wider though not higher range, while party tracts with electors' guides have brought the ancient controversy to every hearth and lodging. It would seem, therefore, in the face of all this, at once rash and useless to reopen a question so long and elaborately discussed. After such endless contributions to the argument there would seem to be nothing left worth saying; though that, indeed, does not appear to have deterred many from entering the field. Yet, with all this, as sometimes happens, certain phases of the question have remained relatively neglected. Of pot-wallopers, in and out burgesses, sixteenth tenements, and the like, thanks to the antiquarian zeal of industrious investigators, we know much. Of the manipulation of the electorate and membership of the Commons, for many purposes far more important to our understanding of English political evolution, we know only too little. It is now many years since Macaulay expressed the wish that some one would write a history of corruption in English politics. The book has not yet appeared, nor is it probable his desire will ever be fulfilled, but the lack of it marks one of many omissions in our knowledge of the past; if it were filled it might not only help our conceptions of earlier periods but might make it possible to draw from it lessons for our own.

Among these neglected fields of party history one, and that neither the least important nor the least interesting, has received curiously little attention. It is that of origin. Upon this vital point the only considerable history of English parties which has yet appeared, touches but lightly, its real story scarcely antedating a time when organizations were fully formed and in active operation. The histories of the period in which these modern parties took their rise give but scanty and unsatisfactory accounts of what is, in some respects, its most important and enduring result. And even the latest writer of party history confines himself to one side of the question and that, from the standpoint of origins, scarcely the most significant. In view of these circumstances it may seem the less presumptuous to attempt such a study as this.

The task is a perplexing one. The gradual transition from one species of ideas and organization to another is easy to apprehend in the result; it is extraordinarily difficult to realize in the process, much less to fix in formal phrase. The ever-varying complexity of motive and action, the perpetual alteration in material conditions and national conceptions, the fluctuation of principle and interest, public and private, the influence of foreign affairs outside the sphere of domestic politics yet strongly influencing them, from the sum of

which emerge a new political situation and mechanism, these are elusive materials for the writing of history. Moreover, at best we are compelled to judge largely by externals. Of the secret conclave, the verbal agreement, the private understanding which make for much in these affairs we can know little or nothing, since few or no records can remain. Forms of organization, like doctrines, are seldom if ever wholly new. To record the assembling of men into combinations based on principles and practices remodelled to meet altering conditions is at best an intangible task, yet it is to this the historian of party origins must address himself.

It is generally agreed that the system of representative government which now obtains throughout the civilized world in various forms first reached its fullest development in England, whence, with more or less modification, it has been adopted by other nations. It is further admitted that its corollary, government by party connection, originated there also, beginning with the English division into Whigs and Tories from which, in a sense, all modern parties are descended. It is further very generally recognized that this system originated at some time during the latter part of the seventeenth century and that it was in active operation, if not fully organized, as early as the Revolution of 1688.

With these admissions, however, general agreement has ended. Concerning the processes by which these groups were formed, the elements from which they were constituted, the circumstances, theories, and methods which produced them, the precise period of their appearance, and still more the identity of their founders, opinion has varied widely. Even within the limited period generally agreed upon as the time when they took their rise, one writer finds their origin in the reign of James II., others in the agitation over the Exclusion Bill, while others push it back, ministry by ministry, to the Restoration itself, and some will not admit the existence of true party life until the reign of Anne, or the establishment of the cabinet system in the reign of George I. One contends that political management, especially by corruption, which is a test of the rise of partizan strife, begins with the Revolution, another finds its origin under Danby, another under Clifford, another under Clarendon.

As to the founder of that great political connection which dominated English affairs for three-quarters of a century after the Revolution, the Whigs, the claims of such widely different leaders as Shaftesbury, Sacheverell, and Clarendon have been urged for that honor, while the latter has the unique distinction of being acclaimed the father of the Tory party as well. Even greater differences of

opinion exist as to the precise period when such devices as the caucus, the programme or platform, central organization, and the concurrent phenomena of a regular party system appeared, and as to their originators—though here, at least, the talents of Shaftesbury are generally conceded pre-eminence and priority in the earliest general use of those popular weapons, agitation and “management”. This shows the incertitude. But the same disputes arise, and must always arise, over all institutions which are the result of growth—disputes endless, inevitable, and in large measure insoluble.

In saying that the modern party system originated in the latter part of the seventeenth century we do not, of course, mean to imply that political divisions expressing themselves in groups called parties had no existence before that time. Such bodies have existed since the political world began. There were parties in Athens. There were parties in Rome under the Republic and the Empire. There were parties before Hastings, and at Runnymede, and the history of England during the fifteenth century is little more than the story of the rivalries between the so-called parties of York and Lancaster. During the reign of James I., and still more in that of his son, much of what we may even recognize as modern party method appears. The word party is, in fact, associated not merely as Burke says with “free governments” and representative systems, but with many administrative forms wholly unfree and unrepresentative.

In modern parties, however, three elements seem essential—a theory of government, a fairly stable and continuous organization, and a purpose to control administration by means of a majority in a representative assembly. Added to these are, of course, the necessary but less permanent characteristics of policies and names, often incorrectly regarded as the real test of organization. How erroneous that opinion is, two instances will demonstrate. Whatever free-trade sentiment existed in England during the greater part of the eighteenth century seems to have been confined to the Tory party; whatever protectionist sentiment obtains now, is to be found principally in the ranks of their Conservative successors. On the other hand that party in the United States which first bore the name Republican came into existence as the champion of doctrines some of which were almost if not precisely opposite to those which its namesake a hundred years later upheld most strongly.

Such divisions have not originated in modern times, nor in temporary circumstances which align men now for, now against, the same policy, nor yet, as some have plausibly maintained, in the mere desire

for the power or profit of office. Behind all these there seems to lie a deeper cause of separation, partly, as we say to-day, psychological, partly economic. Temperamentally this appears to be connected with the tendency of some minds to look back to a golden age and of others to foresee a millennium, with always an indeterminate middle group tending in quiet times to inertia and in more active periods to absorption in the two extremes. In practice these differences are allied with the defense of existing privileges by those who have, and the demand for recognition by those who would have. And on the whole the first party, commonly called conservative, seems generally to favor a more centralized, aristocratic or plutocratic form of government; the latter, or "liberal" party, a more decentralized and popular administration; the former a more military and bureaucratic system, the latter a greater reliance on militia and official rotation.

Such ideas operated in England as in other countries at all times and formed in a sense the basis of action no less in the Middle Ages than now. But for the origin of modern parties we cannot rely on general antagonisms. We must seek definite periods and principles. These have been determined very differently at different times. To the men of the eighteenth century the English political world was created by the Revolution of 1688. Some of the older Tories, indeed, dreamed of an earlier and happier day when their party held the promise of the future. But as time went on that vision faded, and with the accession of George III., a Tory monarch who accepted the Revolution, it disappeared. We have in our day abandoned the cataclysmic theory of origins, in politics as in geology, for that of a more gradual evolution. Yet in the one as in the other, we still recognize that in certain times and places changes occur which are at least far more rapid than the ordinary processes. We are not prepared to admit on that account, however, the claims of the glorious Revolution as the origin of modern political conditions. Further removed from it and its immediate results, with at once a better historical perspective and the inspiration of a triumphing democracy to enlighten us, we have exhumed the age of Cromwell from the royalist tradition which buried it so long, and recognize in it a truer basis of present political conditions than its more decorous sequel of 1688.

We do not mean, however, in the light of our evolutionary doctrine, that even here is to be found the precise origin of either modern theory or practice. For a point of departure of those ideas and conditions whose crystallization produced the modern system, we

must go back at least as far as the Reformation. When these reached their climax in a revolution like that of the civil wars of the seventeenth century by which the older balance of society and the state was readjusted more in accordance with the newer doctrines, and the nation settled back into its old forms with new powers, modern practices were for the first time possible. Such a situation is found in the event we know as the Restoration of 1660. Some time after this and before a period when these new forces are clearly discernible, as in 1688, therefore, we must conclude there were established the principles, methods, and organizations which are the direct progenitors of the party system at present in operation.

The great movement we call the Reformation was essentially on its religious and intellectual side a protest against enthroned authority by private judgment which founded itself on reason and investigation as against dogma. It was preceded or accompanied by many events and movements outside the religious field proper which materially affected its course, like the revival of classical learning, the discovery of a new world, and the rise of a scientific spirit. In some countries it affected society but slightly and politics scarcely at all; and even where it affected both its results were by no means uniform. In England, owing to a variety of causes, it produced a change in society and politics little if any less profound than that in religion. There the religious movement was stimulated and modified by royal activities, public and private. It was further accompanied and affected by a wide-spread change in economic and social conditions, the increase of commerce and agriculture, and the consequent rapid rise of the so-called middle classes which in the main embraced the new religious doctrines, and at nearly the same time, by their great increase in numbers and wealth, began to take a place in public affairs beside the older powers in the state.

The result was the remaking of the nation, economically, intellectually, socially, religiously, and politically. Catholic conservative and Catholic reformer gave way to the sharper division of Catholic and Protestant. The crown broke away from papal supremacy, the Roman church in England was disestablished and disendowed, and finally replaced by an Anglican church set up by the government, which, largely Catholic in form and organization but Protestant in doctrine, occupied the middle ground. This included moderate men of all groups, but from it the more extreme Catholics and the more advanced Protestants, or Puritans as they came to be called, alike stood aloof. As one of the concrete results of this situation there arose three parties in church and state, divided from each other,

among other things, by the varying stress laid on authority. These, on account of the strongly religious character of the time and the movement, were defined in terms of the church, Catholic or conservative, Anglican or moderate, and Puritan or liberal.

Among these warring elements, Tudor dangers and Tudor governance preserved an uneasy peace throughout the sixteenth century. But as danger and governance alike declined on the accession of the Stuarts, as the Protestant and parliamentary doctrines which accompanied the continued rise of the middle classes gained ground, the Catholic party steadily grew weaker. Puritanism, developing meanwhile into a political as well as a religious force, correspondingly extended its boundaries, but in the process divided against itself. The result was that while under Elizabeth the Catholics had been the conservative element, by the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution in the reign of Charles I. they had practically disappeared as a political power among the people, and the Anglicans took their place as the conservative party. The moderate position of the latter was meanwhile assumed by a Puritan group known as Presbyterians, and the liberal ground occupied by a more radical Protestant group of advanced Puritans made up of several bodies, Baptists, Congregationalists, or Independents, and the like, presently known by the collective name of sectaries.

And as no great change in any one field of human activity is ever dissociated from other interests, the political evolution had closely paralleled that in the religious field. The doctrines of popular and national rights against the claims and encroachments of royalty had developed beside those of religious liberty, and closely connected with them. The attempt of the crown to turn back the hands of progressive liberalism in church and state served only to stimulate popular doctrines in both fields and to unite all elements against it. The result was an explosion known significantly as the Puritan Revolution. That outbreak did much to increase the numbers and power of the more advanced party, and to deepen the divisions between the previously somewhat nebulous groups, political and ecclesiastical. In particular the Third Party or more advanced element under Cromwell's leadership gained control of the army and finally secured the ascendancy in the state. From monarchy to Commonwealth, in the view of the most advanced party, the government might well have taken the final step and become a republic.

From that, the extreme republicans declared, it was prevented by the "arts" of the Protector, and when the nation seemed "likely to attain that measure of happiness which human beings are capable

of, by the ambition of one man the hopes and expectations of all good men were disappointed". But it is more reasonable to suppose, from our wider knowledge, that the pendulum would have swung back, that instead of setting up a republic two centuries before its time, the Protector would have been driven by circumstances and popular opinion to restore the older monarchical system with himself as king. Neither point was ever reached. On September 3, 1658, Cromwell died, and the fabric of government which by that time rested on little more than his great personal ability and ascendancy, fell to ruin. The various elements which supported him, but among which even he had held the balance with difficulty, at once fell apart, and English affairs were plunged into a warring chaos of religious and political anarchy. Men and ideas fought for mastery of public affairs which drifted meanwhile without guidance or direction.

The Protector's son Richard, who succeeded to his father's title "as peacefully as ever Prince of Wales came to the throne", found himself unable to control the officers of the army who drove his chief adviser, Thurloe, from power, dissolved the existing Parliament and, compelled by public opinion, summoned the remnants of the old Long Parliament. That body, torn by the conflicting interests of civil and military leaders, struggling for personal ends or ideals beyond the bounds of possibility, provoked the army oligarchs; and neither in army nor in Parliament was found a man strong enough to bear the burdens which Cromwell laid down. The new Protector left Whitehall; Charles's agents strove in vain to bring about his restoration; over-sanguine royalists rose in his behalf only to be suppressed, for the Council of State, in which executive power rested, though it was unable to construct was still able to protect itself against its enemies.

The situation was cleared up by the commander of the forces in Scotland, Monk. Supported by the civil leaders in the Council, by Parliament, and by public opinion in general, he made his way to London, despite Lambert's attempt to stop his progress. There he became the head of a new Council, dissolved the old Parliament, purged the army, secured the disaffected leaders, and summoned a new Parliament, the so-called Convention. With this he laid down the lines of a new political development. The conflict was transferred to the House of Commons, and there a coalition majority of Anglicans and so-called Presbyterians voted to restore monarchy. They made no terms, but the fact that the new monarch owed his crown to Parliament altered his position; for thenceforth the crown

was to contend for control of affairs not against Parliament, not without Parliament, but in Parliament, which thenceforth was supreme.

With this the whole position of the party system changed. "Roundhead and Cavalier were, in effect, no more; Whig and Tory not yet in being", and the Convention was divided between groups who took their names and opinions from the times just past—Royalist, Anglican, Presbyterian, Independent, Sectary. Such were the names applied to the existing groups, and these, it will be observed, were now defined largely in terms of church rather than of state. The Reformation spirit was still in evidence, but it was soon to turn to a more worldly quality. For in these various groups resided not merely an ecclesiastical difference, but a divergence of ideals in regard to government and policy, which, in general, found the royalists as the extreme exponents of authority in church and state, and so advanced to the extreme individualism of the most radical of the sectaries. Between these the so-called Presbyterians held the middle ground, and had it not been for events and sentiments beyond their power to control, they might—as they still hoped to do—hold the balance between the two extremes and so direct the coming policy.

In two directions, however, the political balance, hitherto not unfavorable to the Presbyterians, was weighted against them. The return of the king and court introduced a new element into affairs wholly favorable to Royalists and the Anglicans who might better henceforth be called the Royalist-Anglicans. The disbanding of the forces by land and sea, a measure dictated at once by prudence and economy, correspondingly weakened the cause of the sectaries, much of whose potential strength lay in the army and navy. The seizure and proscription of their leaders further diminished their power of union and left them still more at the mercy of their enemies. The filling up of the Lords by the entry of the bishops as well as of new peers aided the party of church and crown still more, and established a bulwark of conservatism which the efforts of thirty years were scarcely able to disturb. Thus, though nothing was actually taken away from the Presbyterians, their relative position was much changed, and the Council which was constituted with not more than a dozen of their number in a membership of thirty indicated the measure of their reduced importance. This was further manifested in their failure to obtain more than fair words and polite evasions in return for their efforts to secure some guaranties either from the king or the Commons for their form of worship. The most that could be gained was an act of indemnity securing

their persons, and a promise from the king to call a conference of leaders of the church to consider the religious question. Thus the Royalist-Anglicans, while their position was being strengthened, succeeded in their efforts to postpone to a more favorable time the consideration of those fundamental questions of political and constitutional importance which it was no part of their policy to settle in an assembly not summoned by the king nor controlled by his partizans.

Such were the elements from which this new political world was to be made. And in spite of the transitory nature of the Convention and its acts, certain permanent conditions of political life were foreshadowed in its course. The first was that the machinery which had sufficed for the old order would not answer for the new. It was evident that measures were no longer to be carried by gaining the royal ear nor did preferment lie that way alone. The crown, though still powerful, was now but one of several factors in affairs. It was not long before men ambitious of advancement recognized that royal favor was only one means to that end, and that even such favor was more than likely to be extended chiefly to those who had strength in Parliament. It was equally obvious that individuals as such could have at best but a limited influence among five hundred of their fellows. Some new device to direct this new power was therefore necessary, and that, as it gradually appeared, lay in but one direction, organization. It was, of course, many years before leaders were able to dispense with royal favor altogether, but as time went on the more far-sighted politicians depended on it less and less. That process is the measure of the increasing power of the Commons, and the perfection of the means used to control it, in short the development of the political party.

The full meaning of this was, of course, withheld from those who in the early months of 1661 busied themselves with the choice of members for the new Parliament which was to solve this and many other such questions. In this general election to an even greater extent than in the choice of the Convention, the men and measures of the Commonwealth were ignored. The lines between the parliamentary groups were more sharply drawn than a year before. Not a few Anglicans had been ready to admit some lay voice in church government; many Presbyterians would have accepted a limited episcopacy. A large section of the so-called Church of England, clergy and laity alike, were Presbyterian, and the term Dissenter could be applied to scarcely any beside those who, like the Quakers, were beyond any possible inclusion in an episcopal church. But with the rise of the Anglicans to power all this was changed.

For the majority, meanwhile, had grown in other ways than in numbers. They had a recognized leader in the minister, Clarendon, the beginnings of an organization, and a set of principles which they seized their advantage to put in practice.

Their position was rapidly defined and established by legislation. Foremost among their measures was a series of statutes often known as the Persecuting Acts. Passed under alarm of sectary plots, these established the doctrine of conformity to a state church as the basis of religious and political privilege. By the Act of Uniformity Presbyterian ministers and laymen were driven from the church; by the Corporation Act Dissenters were excluded from borough corporations which returned four-fifths of the membership of the Commons. The Conventicle Act made Nonconformist assemblies unlawful, and the Five Mile Act separated the dissenting ministers from their congregations. Control of the church and the Commons having thus been, as it was thought, effectually secured, the fear of the sectaries was again invoked to secure the repeal of the old Triennial Act. By this time was gained to reconstitute the boroughs in the Royalist-Anglican interest, and to leave the life of this ultra-loyal Parliament dependent on royal will. But reactionary legislation did not end here. Another series of statutes confirmed and completed the ascendancy of church and crown. The ancient dignity and power of the crown was restored in so far as possible. The militia was put in royal hands and a standing army organized avowedly to guard against the sectaries. The right of petition and publication was closely restricted, and arbitrary imprisonment freely practised, ostensibly against the same danger. The feudal burden of taxation was lifted from the landed classes and replaced by an excise on the people at large, upon whom was presently imposed an equally unpopular hearth tax. The indigent Cavaliers were voted a sum for their losses, and were much more largely recompensed by place and pension. Foreign affairs—apart from the unpopular marriage of Charles to the Catholic Infanta of Portugal and the no less unpopular sale of Dunkirk to the French—were comparatively neglected.

Such, in brief, was the Clarendonian programme. In it may be recognized certain ideas which echo the traditions of pre-rebellion royalism, and others which anticipate the doctrines of future Toryism. On these grounds Clarendon has sometimes been described as an old royalist, sometimes as the founder of the Tory party. But at least two circumstances prevent the identification of his policy with that of either of these schools. On the one hand, he made no

attempt to perpetuate the fatal doctrine of unparliamentary taxation. On the other, he opposed all attempts to grant the crown power to dispense with Parliament in ecclesiastical affairs. In consequence the minister has sometimes been called the founder of the Whigs.

In fact Clarendon and his followers were neither Whigs nor Tories, nor even pre-rebellion Cavaliers. Though they were nearer the position of moderate Toryism and old parliamentary royalism, they were essentially a party of transition, occupying middle ground between the old and new conservatism. Under stress of circumstance many of them in later years entered the Tory ranks. But at the outset they were essentially a party of church and crown, upholding the king against parliamentary encroachment, and the bishops against dissent, yet only less fearful of unlimited monarchy than of wider liberty in church and state, no less opposed to pure prerogative than to complete parliamentary supremacy. Their leader resisted with equal vigor a permanent income which would make the crown independent of Parliament, and the investigation of royal accounts by commissioners of the Commons. And even the Persecuting Acts, which were largely political rather than religious in their aims, never excluded Dissenters as such from Parliament. Fully enforced they would have destroyed nonconformity in its political if not in its religious aspects. But that proved impossible and, accompanied by complete schism between Anglican and Presbyterian clergy, their chief result was a division in English politics, society, and religious affairs which remains the chief permanent contribution of the Clarendonians to the development of English politics.

Yet scarcely did the Clarendonian victory seem assured when it proved at once transient and illusory. The Nonconformists were, indeed, driven from place in church and borough, the revolutionaries suppressed, the taxes collected, the foreign policy carried out. At first the fear of setting out on his travels again, and the novel pleasures of royalty, restrained the king. The minister seemed indispensable despite his virtues. The country was filled with uninquiring loyalty and the fear of the sectaries, and the extravagance of a dissolute court had not as yet demoralized finance, despite the fact that the financial system, never of the best, was now complicated by the hatred of an unpopular tax. But as soon as England felt the full pressure of the Clarendonian policy it became evident that two powerful elements were antagonized—those desiring enlargement of the prerogative and those desiring wider parliamen-

tary powers. And, curiously enough, these found a meeting-place on the common ground of greater religious freedom.

Upon the passage of the Persecuting Acts which they had so vainly opposed, many Presbyterians conformed enough to secure their political rights, without abandoning their stand for toleration and popular government. The rest threw in their lot with the sectaries, oppressed in pocket and faith, and offering a fertile field for political opposition extending from electoral contests to mob violence and conspiracy. In the former activity, at least, they gained the aid and sympathy of their so-called occasional or semi-conformist brethren. England was henceforth divided into two camps, conformist and nonconformist, the one with, the other without full political privilege, and a permanent separation was assured by which the dissenting element was crystallized into a well-defined group thenceforth to be reckoned with in all political arithmetic. Into the church the Dissenters never returned, but before the roll of acts against them was complete they began to find their way back into the borough corporations, from which legislation proved powerless to exclude them. Thence they were able presently to reinforce the liberal party in the Commons.

In such manner and on such lines was the division into parties begun. Within three years after the Restoration two well-defined groups stood fairly opposed to each other in church and state, in Parliament and country alike. Their initial separation had come on the question of limitation of authority, first of the king, then of the bishops. The Royalist-Anglicans, successful in both contentions for a time, remained the dominant power in the state. The Presbyterians, failing in both, now fell back, with the sectaries, on the principle of toleration.

That principle meanwhile found support on different grounds and in a far different quarter, from no less a person than the king himself. Charles was not impelled to toleration by abstract theory, much less by love of Protestant nonconformity. Nor, as Clarendon believed, was he influenced wholly by the young and ambitious men whom the chancellor had repressed and antagonized. Whatever religious sympathies he had lay in the direction of Catholicism, as his simple political prepossessions were all for absolutism. His motive therefore was rather to relieve Catholic disabilities and to increase the royal prerogative. In neither of these designs was he likely to find support from Clarendon. He turned therefore to other quarters. The first step was to establish a following of his own in Council and Commons, composed largely of courtiers and

placemen, in short King's Friends, dependent on his favor and following his lead, equally removed in principle and in personnel from the Clarendonians and their opponents. To this group the young men neglected by the chancellor were attracted, especially those "frequent and confident speakers" who aspired to gain by royal support the position denied them by the minister. The royal managers took advantage of the by-elections to enlarge this group in the Commons, where even "the king's menial servants, as well below as above stairs", found place in increasing numbers. At the same time the minister's friends in the Council were gradually replaced by those of the king, and thus was built up that group presently known collectively as the Court.

With the rise of this group we come at once into closer touch with the development of modern political management and method. In these the Clarendonians were at first even more old-fashioned than in their principles. Beyond admonitions to the departing Convention with such personal influence as could be exerted by ministers, courtiers, and royalists generally, and some interference with the posts, Clarendon seems to have made little effort to carry the general election of 1661, nor perhaps under the circumstances was much necessary. When Parliament assembled he uttered some rebuke of the license which had accompanied the elections, sharpened, no doubt, by the somewhat exorbitant bill for hospitality incurred in the election of his own son. But besides this, neither then nor later does the chancellor seem to have concerned himself much with the direct choice of members, perhaps through inability, perhaps in accordance with the more dignified traditions in which he had been reared. In the management of the House, once chosen, on the other hand, he showed diligence and system. With the treasurer he directed the ministerial lieutenants in the Commons, who met sometimes with the chancellor and treasurer, sometimes without them, to plan measures and methods. Among them one, Sir Hugh Pollard, acted as a sort of House manager. Here lay the germs of a political mechanism, with at least the beginnings of party leadership, a cabinet, a ministry, and party whips. And if "all places of trust and profit" went to those who supported the minister, this was not new in English politics, nor was it long confined to his following. On the other hand, in so far as the opposition held together at all, it was by personal conferences of leading men, whose party was, in general, rather an active guerrilla force, "without intelligence, command or pay", than a disciplined body. Neither with them nor with the Clarendonians did electoral management proper begin.

That, as we have seen, owed its origin chiefly to the new power or party of the court. In its activities from the first were found the beginnings of electioneering management, and the parliamentary methods of later years. It was no long time before it established a new alignment of parties and policies as well.

When the bills against nonconformity were introduced, this group had made strong efforts to modify them by proposing a measure which gave the crown power to dispense with the acts. Failing this, they tried to insert dispensing clauses in the acts themselves. And when this was defeated they evolved a more radical plan. This was to unite Protestant and Catholic Dissenters, secure the power of indulgence from or in spite of Parliament, and so gain tolerance for Rome under guise of tenderness for Geneva, while incidentally exalting the prerogative. In this they were not alone. When Anglican intolerance seemed likely to stamp out freedom of belief, many men of all shades of opinion turned to the crown as the only bulwark against persecution. Presbyterian as well as Catholic councillors urged on the policy which culminated in the issue of a Declaration of Indulgence in 1663. But in this the so-called Presbyterian leaders were not followed by their namesakes in the Commons. These feared Catholicism and prerogative more than Anglican persecution. The declaration had to be withdrawn, the Nonconformist councillors were estranged from their party, and the Clarendonians for the time remained supreme. In this early conflict appears first the strength of that "boudoir cabinet" or "cabal" upon whose solemn councils in Lady Castlemaine's apartment the attention of historians has often been centred.

Against the chancellor's religious policy the alliance of King's Friends and Nonconformist councillors, deserted by those who otherwise were their natural allies, the Commons opposition, strove in vain. But on the more purely political side after 1663 they found more success. During the period of Cromwellian supremacy the mercantile classes, themselves largely Puritan, had received extensive recognition from the government, expressing itself in the Navigation Act and the war against Holland. The Restoration continued this activity. But though the Clarendonians interested themselves greatly in such matters, re-enacted the Navigation Laws and passed many measures to encourage and regulate manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, in at least two directions they failed to meet fully commercial and agricultural demands. From the operation of restrictive measures for English benefit Ireland was relieved, and English commercial interests, however furthered by diplomacy,

were not considered, in the state of the nation, worthy of war. These commercial interests lay largely in the hands of Nonconformists, against whom the Clarendonians thus joined economic to religious and political discrimination, while at the same time antagonizing a section of the landed interest by permitting Irish competition.

To some of the rising group of King's Friends opposed to the chancellor, these matters appealed with much force. Reared in the school of Cromwell they favored toleration, a highly restrictive commercial policy, economy and efficiency in administration, and a vigorous attitude in foreign affairs, basing itself on economic grounds. They took further advantage of the waning interest in purely religious matters evidenced by the smaller divisions on such questions, and of the opposition always created by such a constructive programme as that of the Clarendonians. Subordinating for a time the assault on the ministerial church policy, they attacked the chancellor on diplomatic and commercial issues. In this they regained the support they had lost by their religious policy and much beside.

Their first victory was won on the issue of a war with Holland. This, after much resistance, was forced upon the minister. The weakness, incompetence, and corruption of administration charged upon him in the course of that struggle enabled his enemies to rouse the country against him. Over his protest a measure of high protection, sometimes called the foundation of that policy in England, the Irish Cattle Bill, was enacted, and the land-owning class largely drawn away from him. Against his even more fervent protest the investigation of the finances and the auditing of administrative accounts by parliamentary commissioners was put forward, and a beginning made of appropriation for specific purposes by Parliament. And at last, in the closing months of 1667, his opponents, the King's Friends at their head, with royal aid, contrived to secure a majority against him in the Commons and, though failing to impeach him, succeeded in driving him from power, from place, and finally from England itself. With his fall the first act of Restoration politics and of the foundation of modern political parties came to an end. In it had been developed the opposing principles of administration based on the relative power and position of the executive and legislature, a definition of religious issue and policy and the relation of church and state, an alignment of groups on those issues, an economic and an administrative policy, with the beginnings of party organization and parliamentary management.

Clarendon was succeeded by a ministry of five councillors who

had opposed him, known as the Cabal. They were all Nonconformists, three nominally Protestants, one openly Catholic, and one secretly inclined to that faith. As a ministry they occupied a peculiar position. Unlike Clarendon they had the support of the king; but they had no such following as the late minister's party in Parliament. They were, in fact, almost equally removed from the Clarendonians and Presbyterians, antagonizing the former by their tolerant policy and the latter by their devotion to the prerogative. For if the Presbyterians were not minded to follow them in a policy of indulgence by royal edict, still less were the Clarendonians inclined to favor a party which encouraged nonconformity. Their main reliance therefore, apart from the popularity of certain measures they promoted, was upon the group of King's Friends in the Commons. Upon the head of the Cabal, then and since, the vials of wrath have been generously poured by all parties alike. Their position was indeed anomalous and insecure. Even more than the Clarendonians they represented a transition from old to new. In a sense they were less a parliamentary ministry than a group of personal advisers of the king, and on the whole, apart from political prejudice of its rivals, the instinct which led to the denunciation of such a system as theirs was sound. Yet the doctrines represented by the Cabal were, with perhaps two exceptions, liberal and enlightened. As privy councillors they had stood for toleration, a vigorous foreign and commercial policy, financial reform, and high protection. They signalized their entrance into power by allowing the acts against nonconformity to lapse, in so far as possible, by releasing many political and religious prisoners, by signing the Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against France, by at least acquiescing in a measure which enabled Parliament to supervise expenditure, and by reorganizing the administration on a more businesslike and economical basis.

In this initial programme of the Cabal, taken in connection with the acts of this group before their accession to power, we may recognize at once certain doctrines which reflect the Cromwellian policies and at the same time anticipate many of the principles later associated with the name of Whig. Yet the Cabal was no more Cromwellian or Whig than the Clarendonians were Laudian or Tory. For, on the one hand, it was so far from advanced Protestantism that it included at least one Catholic, and, on the other, it departed so far from the ideas of popular government that it leaned on the king rather than on Parliament. It attracted support to some of its measures by their unquestioned excellence. But in the minds of

most men no virtue of its measures could compensate for the fundamental vice of the way it was constituted and maintained in power. This alienated the independent element of country gentlemen in the Commons no less than the Clarendonians and Presbyterians, and the ministry never attained a stable majority in the Commons. This defect it endeavored to remedy in three ways, all of importance in the evolution of parties. It pacified the disaffected elements in the nation at large so far as possible by concessions. It drew its followers in the lower house closer to itself by increasing rewards, and recruited able men by place and dignities. It adopted and greatly extended the policy begun by the court of securing through bye-elections members devoted to its support; and thus it contributed greatly to the evolution of political machinery, electoral and parliamentary. And it not only threw the whole weight of administration thus into the parliamentary scale, but it even invoked the royal prerogative of adjournment and prorogation as a regular weapon of parliamentary warfare, in which the speaker, as the agent of the administration, played a leading part.

The result was that in length of session and in legislation Parliament under the Cabal played a slighter part than at almost any other period of its history, while the conflict between the opposing parties in the House grew more and more acrimonious. The opposition to the Cabal in Commons and country consequently rose to a great height, especially among the Anglicans of all shades of opinion. They saw personified in the ministry the hateful policy of Catholic toleration and exaltation of the prerogative in a new form. Even the Protestant Dissenters who gained most from the measures of the Cabal, looked upon it with suspicion as favoring doctrines which they hated even more than they feared the Anglicans. For some three years this ministry by exercising all its arts was able, in spite of its enemies, to maintain its position. But in 1670 a series of events marked a turning-point in its career, in English affairs generally, and in the evolution of parties particularly.

The royal and ministerial protection of the sectaries had greatly irritated the majority in the Commons, still strongly Anglican, and it made several attempts to re-enact the Seditious Conventicles Act after its expiration in 1668. These had been frustrated by adjournment, prorogation, and similar devices of the administration. But in 1670 the measure was re-enacted, though with a clause giving dispensing power to the crown. The immediate result was a burst of Nonconformist opposition which, especially in London, took the form of riots that had almost the appearance of civil war.

In the very days when his guards were attempting to repress these disturbances the king entered on the final stage of his plan to make himself independent of Parliament in finance and religion, and incidentally and unconsciously set party development on another stage. Under cover of festivities accompanying the visit of his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, he signed at Dover a treaty unknown to his Protestant advisers with agents of his cousin, Louis XIV., by which he secured a promise of French aid in establishing Catholicism in England if and when it seemed feasible, in return for English non-interference in French schemes of aggrandizement on the Continent. Six months later Charles's nephew, William of Orange, made his first visit to England.

With these events the final transformation of parties began. To the issues already defined were now added two others, the French alliance and the question of succession. And, as such matters always tend to personify themselves in an individual, the king's brother and heir presumptive, James, duke of York, came to be identified with Catholicism, to which he was a convert, with prerogative, and the French interest. Against him, after the failure of an attempt to divorce and remarry the king in hope of a legitimate Protestant heir, two alternative candidates presented themselves to those opposed to a Catholic succession. The one was the king's illegitimate son James, duke of Monmouth, the other was the king's nephew, William of Orange. About these, as time went on, the general issues tended to crystallize, though for nearly three years more the Protestant section of the Cabal, at first ignorant of the Dover treaty and the deeper springs of royal policy, strove to mould the king to their views and at the same time maintain themselves in or against Parliament by means of the Court party and the prerogative.

Especially was this true in political contests outside the Commons. It is often said that election management sprung full-armed from the general election of 1679. But that great contest was less the origin than the climax of those methods which developed during the reign of Charles II. Under the Cabal, especially between 1670 and 1673, were perfected nearly all those devices begun by the court ten years before which have generally been regarded as products of a later age. The flagrant abuses which then arose led the Commons to enunciate two important principles: that the choice of members should be free from royal interference, and that the House alone should control its own elections and membership. Besides the manipulation of the electorate, the management of members within the

House grew with equal pace. Bribery and corruption were more and more fully practised, the power of the crown more and more openly invoked. In spite of this, partly, no doubt, because of it, the balance gradually turned against the administration. The weight of national opinion outside Parliament was thrown against royal and ministerial authority, and found its way into the Commons through by-elections in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the court and ministry.

In this final struggle the factions in Parliament tended to redivide on slightly different lines. The old Clarendonians and Presbyterians remained, but sunk to less importance as groups in new divisions. They were, said a great politician of the time, but clogs to the real issue which lay between the rising parties of Court and Country. The former had as a nucleus the King's Friends, courtiers, placemen, pensioners, with high prerogative and high church men, some old Cavaliers, lords' sons, and such as from principle or interest adhered to royal or ministerial or ecclesiastical leadership. The Country party on the other hand united the "Switzer band" of Presbyterians with many of that middle group of independent country gentlemen which now tended to be absorbed in the extremes, and with new men coming in through by-elections. It not merely gained adherents from this latter source, it was recruited by men of a different stamp. A new generation was entering politics at this turning-point between revolution and revolution, to take its place beside the old Cavaliers and Presbyterians. The opposition presently began to rival the court in numbers and ability, if not in leadership and organization, and a set of well-defined principles took the place of its older policy of mere opposition. Its weakest point was in its leadership, which was still a loose oligarchy of its principal men, but some germs of a caucus system made their appearance, and a more united and effective conduct of their common interests in and out of the House naturally followed.

Such changes naturally had their effect on the public outside. After the final burst of Anglican zeal and Nonconformist resistance in 1670, the fear of the Catholics replaced the fear of the sectaries. The Dissenters publicly repudiated a tolerance which identified them with the Catholics, and the more reasonable Anglicans recognized the position of their former antagonists. In the face of a common danger the more moderate men of all Protestant persuasions began to draw together, and it was no long time before measures were introduced looking toward toleration for Protestant Nonconformists. Thus, as the lines were more sharply drawn, the in-

determinate centre, whose votes had earlier turned the issue in the Commons toward Anglican triumph, swayed the other way, and finally divided as we have seen to the advantage of the Country party. The climax of the situation and of this phase of party evolution was reached in the circumstances accompanying the second Dutch war which began in the spring of 1672. As a preliminary to the measures determined upon, Parliament was prorogued and thus precluded from any possible interference with the plans of the administration. The declaration of war was prefaced by two arbitrary acts. To secure a sum of ready money, payment from the exchequer was suspended, and to pacify a section of the opposition a Declaration of Indulgence was issued granting permission to the Dissenters to establish conventicles licensed by the crown. Hostilities were begun before war was declared, by a treacherous and futile attempt to seize the homeward-bound Dutch Smyrna fleet. Here appeared the policy of the Court in its most extreme form—toleration by royal prerogative, finance by royal edict, a vigorous, mercenary foreign policy, and the exclusion of Parliament from all three, while behind these lay the secret arrangement between the king and his cousin, Louis XIV., and the avowed Catholicism of the heir to the English throne.

When the Houses met again the Country party, now with a clear majority in the Commons on such questions, set forth in turn their policy. They repudiated the obligations the ministry had incurred by the stop of the exchequer on the ground that this involved unparliamentary taxation. They forced the king to recall the Declaration of Indulgence and resolved that the power to regulate ecclesiastical as well as financial affairs belonged to Parliament alone. They demanded that the troops raised for the Dutch war be disbanded, on the same ground of parliamentary control. They declared for peace with the Dutch and hostility to France, an encroachment on the royal prerogative, the king declared later, without precedent save in time of revolution. Finally a bill was introduced for the ease of Protestant Dissenters and the programme completed by the passage of the Test Act which excluded Catholics from all office, civil and military.

The result was decisive. James and his allies were driven from place and power. The king's Catholic policy was destroyed at a blow, and Catholicism eliminated from open activity in English politics. The prerogative in foreign affairs was attacked, and the question of the Protestant succession brought into the realm of practical politics. The defense of his prerogative and his pension, de-

rived from the French alliance, and of his house, personified in James, henceforth absorbed the king's energies.

Meanwhile two of the Protestant section of the Cabal, Shaftesbury and Buckingham, advised of the king's bad faith, and marking the signs of the times, trimmed their course to meet or direct the storm. The former was dismissed and at once entered into direct relations with the Country party. He was followed by others, among whom Buckingham was most prominent. The opposition was thus strengthened not merely by its new allies in the Lords; in the person of Shaftesbury was supplied the principal element it had hitherto in great measure lacked, a recognized leader of ability and resource. He, in turn, found ready to his hand a political weapon and a situation peculiarly suited to his genius and purpose. He did not create the party, nor was he in any real sense its founder. But he took command of the able men of the new generation, like Sacheverell, who had done so much to give the party its new form, as well as of the older Presbyterian leaders whom the new men had themselves in some measure replaced. Shaftesbury was a master politician, and under his guidance the party took on new form and vigor. It was gradually welded into a machine, including all elements from the liberal Lords to the London mob, Presbyterians, moderate country gentlemen, and sectaries.

The evolution of the Country party was now nearly complete. It had increased its numbers till it was prepared to contend with its opponents on fairly equal terms. It had developed a set of principles based on toleration, commercial interest, liberty of the subject, Protestantism, and parliamentary supremacy. It had acquired a leader, and a small but able following in the Lords. It needed but one thing, some force to counterbalance the more effective organization of the court. That was quickly supplied. In 1675 was founded the so-called Green Ribbon Club which, from its headquarters at King's Head Tavern, soon became the recognized centre of the party, the seat of its executive and of its inner councils. There party policies were formulated by the group of leaders about Shaftesbury, and methods improved or invented to further them. Systematic political management in and out of the House was developed. The loose political connection was drilled and disciplined into a party, and the last superiority of the court was equalized by this new leadership and organization which rapidly developed the principles and practices of the later Whig party.

Against this, on the part of the court, the Council was reorganized by the introduction of moderate Protestant lords. The conduct

of affairs was placed in the hands of the ablest upholder of church and crown, Thomas Osborne, presently created Earl of Danby. He began at once to unite more closely the courtiers in the Commons, the Clarendonian remnant, old high church and prerogative men, King's Friends, placemen and pensioners, into a reorganized Court party. In the Lords, the crown could rely on a steady majority of spiritual and temporal peers. In and out of the House it extended still further the policy of corruption and management. It gave up the Catholic policy. And though the king held to his French connection and pension, Danby repudiated both, and like Shaftesbury before him, though on different grounds, sought to mould the king to his own plans, and stand between king and Commons, directing both along conservative lines. With this the circle was complete.

The parliamentary session of 1675 saw the first engagement between the forces thus constituted and officered. On the part of the court the royal pretension to supremacy in church affairs and a Catholic policy were tacitly abandoned for a programme of extreme conformity to be enacted by Parliament and enforced by the crown. One of the earliest measures was a passive obedience bill introduced into the Lords. To this was added a plea for the traditional balance of king, Lords, and Commons, and the resistance to parliamentary encroachment on the prerogative especially in foreign affairs. Insistence on ministerial rights, the undiminished power of the executive, and the direct legitimate succession completed a programme which combined the ideas of Clarendon and the court, modified to meet the existing situation. Against this the Country party sought to identify the court with Catholicism and arbitrary government, both of which they denounced. They protested against a standing army and a French policy. They demanded greater liberty of the subject, free and frequent parliamentary sessions, control of finance and a voice in foreign affairs for the Commons, toleration, ministerial responsibility, and general parliamentary supremacy, in short the principles of the Bill of Rights.

With this the plea for strong government and the superiority of the executive stood out clearly against that for popular government and the superiority of the legislature. For some three years the political conflict was confined to these issues. Perhaps if the ordinary political processes had not been interrupted, or personal rivalries had not been so acute, the situation might have gradually worked itself out along evolutionary rather than revolutionary lines. But neither side would wait, perhaps neither side could wait. The Popish Plot accelerated the movement of affairs, which hurried on

to the crisis of the Exclusion Bill. After a brief interval of quiet, reaction and revolution revived with the accession of James. Country and Court in that troubled decade from 1675 to 1685 gave place to Petitioner and Abhorrer, and these to Whig and Tory. Corruption rose to a height not exceeded under the arch-tempter Walpole; the prerogative was strained to the breaking-point; political agitation was carried to a height scarcely short of revolution. But, apart from change of name and greater intensity of rivalry, English party principles, methods, organization, even personnel, changed little after 1675. The Tory party which emerged from the Revolution differed in no essential particular from the Court party which completed its evolution under Danby. The Whigs were to all intents the Country party with its allies and leaders in the Lords.

The details of political practice alter with changing conditions. But it was not until the electorate itself was revolutionized in the nineteenth century that even these departed in any radical degree from the lines laid down between 1660 and 1675. There, if anywhere, it would appear, are to be found the beginnings of English parties on the lines we have laid down.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

THE COALITION OF EUROPE AGAINST NAPOLEON¹

THE Europe of the kings was for fifteen years at war with Napoleon, as it had been with the Revolution of which he was the heir; like the Revolution he cast down the bastilles of feudalism and carried everywhere the gospel of equality; at Austerlitz he gave a mortal blow to the Holy Roman-German Empire, and thenceforward national aspirations had freedom to express and realize themselves; when he was vanquished, the people were vanquished with him, and fell back for a time under the yoke of the kings and of the Holy Alliance.

There was, then, whatever may be thought of it in England and in America, nothing in common between the great emperor whom all the peoples of France and of other countries surrounded with a kind of worship during his captivity in St. Helena—and it was a memory they have never ceased to celebrate—and the cowardly bandits who but yesterday flooded Europe again with blood, and will have forever the curses of humanity.

Not that Napoleon did not have ambition; he was very ambitious; he wished to reign and for a brief time did reign over Europe. But the essential fact which history will record is that he made war upon the kings, defenders of the feudal privileges of the old régime. And if the kings, when conquered, at last appealed to the peoples, it was but to oppress them anew and to restore the sway of privilege. Napoleon had to do with coalitions of kings only; long victorious over kings and emperors, he was at last conquered by the kings, and therein again his history is absolutely contrasted with that which has been enacted in our time.

And finally, it is because the coalitions of these kings were only dynastic coalitions that they were so hard to form, that they were constantly weakened and for a long time made impotent by rivalries; it is because they were not inspired by the great breath of liberalism which has made yesterday's allies victorious; it is because the great forces of the Revolution were on the side of Napoleon,

¹ This study has been made easier for me by the works which I have already published and which I ask leave to mention: *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1904); *Napoléon en Italie* (ibid., 1906); *Napoléon et l'Europe*: I. *La Politique Extérieure du Premier Consul* (ibid., 1910), II. *Austerlitz, la Fin du Saint Empire* (ibid., 1912), III. *Tilsit, la Rivalité de la France et de la Russie* (ibid., 1917).

that he was for a long time the victor. And his defeat was a defeat of the Revolution.

It is in this light that the history of the coalition of Europe against Napoleon should be studied, if one wishes to understand its meaning and its historic bearing.

It is our habit in France to distinguish, among coalitions against Napoleon the Emperor, the third, brought to an end after Austerlitz by the treaty of Pressburg, the fourth, ended in 1807 by the treaty of Tilsit, the fifth, ended by the treaty of Vienna, and the sixth, which alone was general, and which finally destroyed the empire. For the allies were always at odds with each other, even in the sixth. The facts will readily show why.

I.

England had resigned herself to the Peace of Amiens (1802). She was directly threatened by the armaments of the camp of Boulogne, and she no longer had any allies. But the far-reaching enterprises of the First Consul obliged her soon to resume her arms, for if it was his purpose to extend wherever he could the influence of France, she on the other hand had the right to defend herself as soon as she was directly menaced.

Now the First Consul in reality extended his hegemony over the greater portion of Europe, and so the upsetting of the balance was already disturbing to everyone. He left French garrisons in Holland, now become the Batavian Republic, under the pretext of preparing there more easily his expedition against Santo Domingo. He drew up the Act of Mediation of the Swiss Confederation, and remained its mediator, which gave him a position as arbitrator that could not fail to become a real suzerainty. And in fact he did in Switzerland about what he pleased.

The Recess of the Germanic Diet of 1803 was framed and voted under his eyes. He ordained according to his own fancy the new arrangement of Germany. All the Catholic ecclesiastical states were secularized save one, the bishopric of Ratisbon. All the free cities were mediatized but six; the crumbled dust of the German states was moulded together again into a moderate number of states of medium size, and the Diet, which hitherto had had a Catholic majority, found itself with a Protestant majority in all of its three colleges, which, as Seeley has rightly observed, was equivalent to a revolution, and announced the approaching fall of the house of Austria. In the meantime the First Consul already exercised a sort of protectorate over the new Germany.

Immediately upon the treaty of Amiens he annexed Piedmont to France and divided it into departments. He caused himself to be elected president of the Cisalpine Republic, renaming it the Italian Republic. Already a king-maker, he set a Bourbon upon the throne of Etruria, and began to dominate nearly all Italy. Spain was his ally, or rather his vassal, and her best ships of war were at Brest, under the command of French admirals. In fact, the power of Bonaparte was already continental.

That power made his maritime enterprises so much the more threatening. On the side of the West Indies, already master of most of the Antilles, master again of Louisiana after 1801, master of the whole island of Santo Domingo, and resting upon an alliance with Spain, herself mistress of almost all of Central and South America, he gave such a military importance to the Santo Domingo expedition, under pretext of suppressing the negro insurrection there, that everyone was justified in being alarmed as to its results; and such alarm there was, in the United States, until, war having been resumed in Europe, Bonaparte sold them Louisiana.

To the East Indies, until lately the fairest colonial empire of France, the First Consul sent General Decaen, noted for his hatred of the English, with a great number of officers evidently intended to organize sepoys, making it plain that France intended once more to contest India with the English. The remembrance of the Baillie de Suffren was not so remote! Finally Colonel Sébastiani was charged with a "commercial" mission in the Levant, in Tripoli, Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Islands; on his return his report was published in the *Moniteur Officiel* with the concluding words, "six thousand Frenchmen will be sufficient to reconquer Egypt."

Hence it was that England resolved to keep Malta, which under the terms of the treaty of Amiens she was to restore to the Knights of St. John. This was the determining cause of the break, and the beginning of the coalition of Europe against Napoleon. He at once occupied Hanover and the Neapolitan ports, so taking up posts in the heart of Germany and in the extremest parts of Italy.

The Russian government, which had undertaken to guarantee the new territorial equilibrium of Germany and was disturbed at every fresh undertaking of France in the Mediterranean, protested against the occupation of Hanover and of Naples. Prussia could not fail to be disquieted by the position which France had taken in Germany, at the very ports of Berlin. Austria took up an observant attitude. All Europe was in a state of alarm, that is to say, the Europe of the kings, which was naturally made anxious by the enlargement of

scope which the First Consul's ambition would be sure to give to the ideas of the Revolution.

In that alarm lay the germ of the coalition, but how much time it needed to ripen and to come to action! It required more than two years after the breaking of the Peace of Amiens.

The seizure of the Duke of Enghien and the violation of the territory of Baden led to new notes from Russia, which, from that time on, found herself almost in a state of hostility with France. On May 18, 1804, Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French. On August 15 he with solemn ceremony distributed his eagles to the regiments of the Grand Army, then collected at Boulogne and ready for imperial conquests. On December 2, Pope Pius VII. consecrated the new emperor in Paris, at Notre Dame. All this was far from reassuring to the Europe of the kings, which however had yet made no movement.

But events hastened forward with logic not to be escaped. The Italian Consulta requested its president, now become emperor, to take the title of King of Italy. He announced the title to the Austrian Emperor, at the same time informing him that, in order to ensure the separation of the two crowns, that of France and that of Italy, he reserved the latter for his brother Joseph. But Joseph having refused—of which, however, there is no decisive proof—Napoleon was obliged, quite against his will—at least so he said—to assume in person the iron crown of the old Lombard kings. He placed it upon his own head at Milan, May 26, 1805, repeating his device: “*Dieu me l’a donnée: gare à qui la touche*”. Then he annexed Genoa to France, under pretext of protecting it against the attacks of England.

Finally the coalition was formed. Great Britain and Russia had come into agreement through the convention of St. Petersburg. Austria joined it on August 9, and mobilized her armies, which Mack led to the upper Danube, toward the Black Forest.

The allies tried to secure the adherence of Prussia, which would have made the coalition general. The Tsar Alexander I. went to Potsdam, and was very pleasantly received there by King Frederick William III. and Queen Louise; cordial assurances were exchanged; the King of Prussia showed himself disposed to enter into the alliance; meanwhile, he sent Count Haugwitz to Napoleon to offer Prussia's mediation. But he did not have the time to bring this movement to completion, and the sword of the conqueror made these small endeavors futile from the start.

At Ulm at the end of October Austria's best army was obliged

to surrender, leaving open the road to Vienna. Vienna indeed was immediately occupied without striking a blow. The two allied emperors, of Austria and of Russia, gave battle jointly at Austerlitz, December 2, 1805, the anniversary of the coronation at Notre Dame; and soon Austria, by the treaty of Pressburg, laid down her arms.

This was the end of the Holy Roman-German Empire, for it was not to recover from the blow. The Emperor of Austria renounced the imperial crown of Germany, and released all his German subjects from their oath of fidelity, which most of them made haste to transfer to the Emperor Napoleon. Austria lost all influence in Italy, abandoning Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia to France, or, which was much the same thing, to the Kingdom of Italy. The Bourbons of Naples were driven from their throne for having pronounced in favor of the defeated coalition, and this time Joseph Napoleon accepted the crown of Naples, inferior though it was to the crown of Italy.

The victorious emperor, having his complaints to make of the pope, dared to write to him, "Your Holiness is sovereign in Rome, but I am its emperor". Pope Pius VII. replied, "There is no emperor of Rome". He was wrong; there was even a Roman emperor. The Western Empire had been restored with a power more formidable than that which it had in Charlemagne's time.

The coalition of all Europe was now to be expected. Quite the contrary, an almost universal negotiation began.

II.

In spite of Trafalgar, which saved the whole future, Pitt had "died of Austerlitz". Looking at the map of Europe on the wall of his study, he had said, "Roll up that map; it will not be wanted these ten years". In truth, for ten years there was no longer a Europe, because Napoleon was able to play off the rivalries of the powers one against another, according to his fancy, and to hold back almost to the last day the coalition of Europe.

The English government attempted to entice Napoleon into a negotiation with a view to arresting undertakings on his part which menaced the future of the Orient. Fox, succeeding Pitt, entered into correspondence with Talleyrand by denouncing to him a certain Guillet de la Gavrillière, who had proposed to him a plan of assassinating the emperor. Talleyrand and Napoleon at once took up the conversation, basing it on the treaty of Amiens. Fox replied that the English government sought

a secure and durable peace, and not an uncertain truce, which from its

very nature would be disquieting, not only to the contracting parties but to all the rest of Europe . . . a peace honorable to the two parties and their respective allies, and at the same time of a sort to assure as far as they can the future repose of Europe. For this reason Great Britain asks for a general peace.

Lord Yarmouth was charged with the negotiation. He demanded the restoration of Hanover; Talleyrand did not object, but demanded the restoration of Malta, but then proposed to leave Malta to Great Britain provided Sicily were taken away from the Bourbons and assigned to Joseph Napoleon as King of Naples, for, in order to ensure the freedom of the Mediterranean, it was necessary that, while England should have Malta, Sicily should belong to France or be under French influence. At the beginning of July the negotiation came to a halt upon the question of Sicily.

Then arrived from Russia Baron d'Oubril with powers to enter into negotiations, for the government of St. Petersburg was alarmed at the separate negotiation going on between France and England. Immediately he learned of the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, which assured Napoleon domination over Germany. Then Talleyrand and Clarke pressed and caressed and threatened him and extorted from him the treaty of Oubril, July 20: Russia evacuated the Bocche di Cattaro, recognized the independence of the Ionian Islands, and agreed that the Bourbons should be compensated for Sicily by receiving the Balearic Islands.

Then Talleyrand turned again toward England, thinking that thus he could force her hand. Fox reacted vigorously, insisting on retaining as the basis of negotiation the principle of *uti possidetis*, which however Napoleon rejected, in spite of the formidable advantages it offered to him. The Russian government refused to ratify Oubril's treaty; Prussia was drawn decidedly into opposition to France by the resistant position which Russia and Great Britain thenceforward took; and Fox died at the moment when, well or ill, the fourth coalition was coming into existence.

It is not necessary to review at length the circumstances which brought on the rupture between France and Prussia; they are well known. Yet, as M. Arthur Lévy has published on this subject a book of some celebrity, *Napoléon et la Paix*, to prove that Napoleon desired peace and that it was Prussia that was responsible for the rupture, it is important, on the other side, to recall the following facts. Immediately after Austerlitz Napoleon imposed upon Prussia the treaty of Schönbrunn, confirmed and aggravated on February 10 by that of Paris; he obliged her to accept Hanover, and to declare war on Great Britain. Then he formed the Confedera-

tion of the Rhine, of which he was the all-powerful protector, and to leave Germany in a sort of unstable equilibrium, he advised Prussia to form under her own suzerainty a North German Confederation. When she dutifully made the attempt, she everywhere encountered, in the Hanse towns, in Hesse-Cassel, in Saxony, objections and reluctance in which it was easy to discern the hand of French diplomacy.

Thus it was made plain to her that Napoleon wished to reign alone over Germany; she was obliged to choose between war or the suzerainty of France. She preferred war. She made the mistake of rushing into it with a light heart, relying with vanity upon the military pre-eminence which since the time of Frederick the Great she had supposed that she possessed. She was crushed at Jena and Auerstädt, and her very existence was threatened.

Yet in her misfortune was she not at least sustained by the coalition of Europe? Far from it; immediately after Jena she begged the emperor for an armistice; he required that she should abandon all her lands west of the Elbe except Magdeburg, should recognize the Confederation of the Rhine, should close her ports to the English, and should guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. She submitted. Then Napoleon demanded the delivery of all the Prussian fortresses on the Oder and the Vistula, and the withdrawal of all the Prussian troops into royal Prussia. The negotiation was broken off.

The war continued with great severity through a terrible winter, for the Russians had reached the neighborhood of the Vistula. At Eylau in February the emperor's fortune trembled for the moment in the balance. It was a favorable moment for a coalition of Europe. Napoleon feared it and made advances to Prussia; as was natural, they were not well received; the King of Prussia thought it better to come to a thorough understanding with Russia and the other governments upon the conditions of a real peace. He had good success in coming to an agreement with the tsar and signed with him the convention of Bartenstein, but it was not until April 26, two months and a half after Eylau, and it was in terms so vaguely expressed that they made clear the impossibility of definite and real agreement. Moreover, it was impossible to bring into the agreement Great Britain and Austria, both of whom were disturbed by a reorganization of Germany which would have paved the way for the military supremacy of Prussia in that country. Austria went no further than a mediation, which it was easy for Napoleon to draw out to great length, as he had done with the mediation

of Prussia before Austerlitz. Thus he gained Friedland, a victory which was less the fruit of his own genius than that of the divisions of Europe.

The interview at Tilsit blew away like smoke the faint endeavors toward coalition which for four years had been going on. The works of Albert Sorel and of Vandal have created a "legend of Tilsit" which is not in conformity with historic truth. What there came into existence has been described as a Franco-Russian entente, dividing Europe into two empires, the Empire of the West and the Empire of the East. The treaties of Tilsit did in fact secure to Napoleon the domination of the west, that is to say, of Italy and Germany. But they also prepared the way for his penetration into the Orient; they obliged Russia to surrender the Bocche di Cattaro and the Ionian Islands, to bring back her vessels into the Baltic and the Black Sea, to renounce all pretensions over Moldavia and Wallachia, and to recognize the grand-duchy of Warsaw, a first step toward the restoration of Poland. Thus we may see in them the prelude to the Russian campaign of 1812, "the second war of Poland", as Napoleon called it. These are the realities concealed beneath the sounding speeches and the exchange of embraces.

As for the particular subject with which we are occupied, the treaties of Tilsit not merely destroyed any coalition of Europe against Napoleon—with Prussia crushed, Austria kept in anxiety, Russia compromised and held by a sort of sentimental alliance—but they even formed a coalition of Europe around Napoleon against Great Britain, by assuring the union of all the Continental powers in the terms of the blockade which Napoleon had decreed at Berlin on November 13, 1806. This marks a decisive step in the organization of all Europe under the form of a Napoleonic empire.

III.

The Spanish affair brought new elements, of great interest, into the relations of Napoleon with Europe. The emperor could dispose of the crown, here as elsewhere, and indeed found no difficulty in sowing divisions among the poor Bourbons of Spain, in raising the son against the father, and father and mother against the son, and involving them all in the trap of Bayonne. He believed that he could appropriate Spain also, by promising it the benefits flowing from the new institutions of the régime of equality and from all that was represented by the French Revolution, which he thought to personify in his brother Joseph, summoning him from the throne of Naples to that of Madrid.

He was surprised by the reaction of national feeling. It was his great error of psychology. The Germans committed a like error when they threw themselves upon Belgium in 1914. The capitulation of Dupont's and Vedel's divisions at Baylen cast a sinister light upon the future of the Napoleonic edifice; the cracking of its walls could already be heard. England did not fail to profit by it; she entered into relations with the insurrectionary or rather national government at Cadiz. This did not prevent her from entering at the same time into relations with the Spanish colonies in America, which were beginning to detach themselves from the mother-country. In both cases her action was not absolutely disinterested, and brought an element of weakness to the coalition of governments and peoples against imperial France which was in course of preparation. Curious parallels could be drawn with the circumstances of the recent Great War and of its immediate consequences.

However this may be, Napoleon found himself seriously affected. He set himself to repair the damage. He accorded to Prussia the convention of September 8, 1808, and withdrew from it his army of occupation, excepting the garrisons of the fortresses on the Oder. He called the tsar to the interview of Erfurt, and for a fortnight the imperial interview was the occasion of very brilliant ceremonies; it was also the occasion of equivocal negotiations between Russia and Austria through the medium of Talleyrand.

Austria, secure against disturbance on her eastern frontiers, and almost certain of connivance on the part of the St. Petersburg government, attempted to make use of the German national sentiment, which was beginning to be manifested in a significant manner in connection with the persons of Major Schill and the Duke of Brunswick-Oels. But she was also apprehensive of that spirit, and feared that it might go too far, or might turn against herself; in fact Austria could not support revolutionary movements in Germany without running the risk of suicide. The "German Vendées" remained isolated and therefore ineffective. Napoleon suppressed them with ease.

The sentiment of national independence might create a formidable coalition against the emperor, if it were not to be a coalition of the kings. That was its weakness. So we have here the first steps toward a bankruptcy of the national movements, of which the kings made use only so far as they did not compromise their traditional authority: a game hard to play, which nevertheless succeeded, and retarded by a century those national emancipations which are at last to result from the Great War.

Yet what we call the fifth coalition, that of 1809, was far from being the general coalition which since 1803 men had been attempting to construct. Naturally Austria entered into relations with England; the question of subsidies was taken up, vaguely also that of a restoration of Prussia and Austria to their former power through the destruction of the Confederation of the Rhine. But it was not possible to go far with these conversations without endangering the continuance of harmony.

Austria also attempted negotiations with the government of Prussia; she found there favorable dispositions as respected hostility to France, but great reserve as to the consequences of the victory which was counted upon. The bear's skin could be sold at a high price, but they feared bitter disputes about the partition, a state of mind little favorable to coalition.

Prussia did indeed resume very cordial relations with Russia. Russia was her only guarantor, for it was certainly to her that Prussia owed the preservation of her political existence, and statesmen of our time ought never to forget the friendship that for two centuries closely bound Prussia and Russia together. The king and queen of Prussia made a long sojourn in St. Petersburg, from January 7 to 21, 1809. There was in fact a whole system of subterraneous passages from Vienna to Berlin, from Königsberg to St. Petersburg, from St. Petersburg to Vienna. It was not a coalition, but it might prepare the way for one.

Austria entered into the campaign too late and too soon: too late because Napoleon had warning in time to return from Spain; too soon because her diplomatic preparations had not yet brought any results. She was vanquished at Eckmühl, and again lost Vienna.

After Essling and Aspern she inflicted a perceptible check upon Napoleon, whose fortune seemed to hesitate as it had done after Eylau. The Tyrol, rising in revolt, drove out the Franco-Bavarian troops which occupied it. The war party in Prussia became active and pressed the government to intervene; the government showed itself disposed to do so, but wished guaranties as to the future. "What has Austria in mind", it asked the Austrian envoy, "as to the future organization of Germany?" On that point it was impossible to agree. The conversations once more came to an end.

From that time on Prussia attached herself to Russia, and Russia counselled prudence for the moment. For the St. Petersburg government, allied to Napoleon, was desirous above all to prevent its ally from winning victories, watched carefully the Polish agita-

tion, impeded everywhere the military operations of the army of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, but dared not break the alliance of Tilsit; a detestable course of policy, which on the whole played Napoleon's game, saved him from the evil consequences which might have come to him upon the defeat at Essling, and condemned Austria to the disaster of Wagram. Another victory of the emperor had been achieved by the divisions of his adversaries quite as much as by his own military genius.

Austria defeated, Great Britain disembarked a body of troops at Walcheren to menace Antwerp. This diversion might have accomplished something immediately after Essling; after Wagram it was ridiculous, and a few days later the British troops were obliged to re-embark, in a miserable condition.

But Austria, beaten but not crushed, struggled for three months with peace negotiations. She founded some hopes at least upon the mediation of Russia, a belligerent, and ally of the victor. The tsar's government pursued the most detestable policy; it did not even take part in the negotiations, doubtless in order to have no responsibility for the severe conditions which were to be imposed upon the conquered, and gave her over to the generosity of the victor. Napoleon profited by this to overwhelm Austria, and in the treaty of Vienna (October, 1809) inflicted upon her, on all her frontiers, mutilations which left her at his mercy. Thenceforward she had no salvation but to give herself over to him and give him an archduchess.

Once more a general peace, with England now the sole enemy unconquered—for how long?

Next the emperor suppressed the temporal power of the papacy, led the pope into captivity, and occupied Rome. The warnings of Baylen and Essling did not have the disastrous consequences which he had at first feared from them. The cloud of European coalition which had gathered at the horizon had once more been dispersed by the great sun of victory.

IV.

The moment had come for Napoleon to finish the design of his imperial edifice. Up to this time he had kept his empire in a feudal or federal form, by surrounding it with subject kingdoms, confided to the rule of his brothers, Joseph in Spain, Louis in Holland, Jerome in Westphalia, Murat at Naples. The system had its inconveniences, for his brothers, kings by his will, claimed to be kings by grace of God and, sustained by the national aspirations of their

peoples, tried to make themselves independent and escape from the imperial sovereignty, so that the empire found itself already threatened with dissolution.

Napoleon was not so constituted as to consent. And this was the chief reason for his divorce and second marriage. He wished to have a son to whom he might bequeath his whole empire, maintained in strong unity, in accordance with the traditions of the Roman Empire, and he reserved for this son the title of the King of Rome.

The boy was born on March 20, 1811. Thenceforward the emperor made it his task to take back from his brothers the thrones to which he had provisionally assigned them, and to recreate under his immediate authority a political unity already founded on common institutions and a perfect unity of command. In a word, he gradually replaced the federal system of brother-kingdoms by the dynastic or the unitary empire. This was the result of the very important *senatus consultum* of February 17, 1810, the import of which has been hitherto too little remarked by historians. Let us recall the essential terms:

Art. 1.

The Roman state is reunited to the French empire and forms an integral part of it.

Art. 6.

The city of Rome is the second city of the empire.

Art. 7.

The prince imperial bears the title and receives the honors of the King of Rome.

Art. 8.

There shall be at Rome a prince of the blood, or a great dignitary of the empire, who will hold the emperor's court there.

Art. 10.

After having been crowned in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, the emperors shall be crowned in the Church of St. Peter before the tenth year of their reign.

Great preparations were made at Rome to receive the emperor there on the occasion of his second crowning in 1813 or 1814. The gardens of Caesar the Great were planned and planted on the Pincian Hill. Excavations were made in the ruins of the Forum and the Palatine. The Quirinal was arranged into the apartments of the emperor, those of the empress, and those of the King of Rome. The decorations and mirrors were put in place; nothing

was lacking but to put the horses in the stables. The medal which was to commemorate these magnificent doings was already struck, with the impressive device: "The imperial eagle returns to the Capitol".

But before going to Rome it was necessary to finish the empire, to join the east to the west. The west was organized more and more strongly under the hand of the emperor, with the exception of Spain, which was not always docile. The decisive stroke upon the east was made ready; annexations extended the frontiers of the empire past Holland and Oldenburg, beyond the Elbe to the Baltic, with the imperial city of Danzig as an outpost. Marmont, governor-general of the Illyrian provinces, set in motion with great ability the French penetration into the Balkan Peninsula and on the road to Constantinople. The grand-duchy of Warsaw, to which after Wagram Galicia had been added, already appeared to be a revived Poland set up over against Russia to push her back toward Asia.

Russia found herself directly aimed at and threatened. She was the last of the independent powers of the Continent. With Russia conquered there would be no more Europe. There would be but one empire, the empire of Napoleon. From the day of Wagram, Russia perceived the danger. She had but ill performed the military duties attaching to her alliance with France. She refused Napoleon the hand of a grand-duchess, that she might not give him any rights over herself. She demanded of the emperor a promise that Poland should not be restored, which naturally he refused to give.

Thenceforward the conflict was inevitable and near at hand. On December 31, 1810, Russia gave up the Continental blockade, which amounted to coming to accord with Great Britain. The year 1811 was a terrible armed vigil. The very existence of Europe was at stake and a great conflict was about to begin.

There was at last a movement toward a general coalition. Was it a coalition of Europe?

Certainly England was sustaining the same cause as Russia. But she was far away, and preserved her own particular manner of fighting against the hegemony of Napoleon. And she was also engaged in, and her mind partly distracted by, her second war with the United States.

Did Prussia at least, the vanquished at Jena and at Tilsit, support Russia, the last champion of the liberties of Europe? Prussia drew more closely to France, in order not to be crushed beneath

the great apparatus of war organized by the emperor. Hardenberg, recalled to the ministry by King Frederick William III., asked Napoleon's permission first and sent in the most humble assurances of faithful devotion; he immediately solicited the honor of an alliance with France. When Napoleon refused, Prussia thought herself condemned to death, and Davout had in fact prepared a plan of military execution for her which would have been a capital execution. She came near risking her fortune in a stroke of despair. The crisis of September 27 was dramatic; she tried to arm herself for a final conflict. Napoleon himself feared the consequences of such a venture. He showed some spirit of conciliation and admitted Prussia into a sort of alliance with France by the treaty of September 24, 1812. Of the 42,000 men which she had the right to keep under arms, she put 25,000 at the emperor's disposal for the Russian campaign.

And would Austria be bolder? Former mistress of Europe, would she at least defend its liberties, side by side with Russia? But she did not love Russia, and perhaps feared a victory achieved by her more than one achieved by France. For Russia since the times of Catharine II. showed ambitions toward the Balkans that needed to be watched. Austria could not expect to be able to resume in the west, in the face of imperial France, a position of preponderance. She must then turn her face toward the east, as she did in our days, when her defeats at Magenta and Sadowa had turned her away from Italy and from Germany. Already Talleyrand in his celebrated Strassburg memoir of October, 1805, before Austerlitz, had advised Napoleon to carry Austria down into the lower Danube, even to the Moldo-Wallachian principalities and the Black Sea. Austria therefore was disposed rather to safeguard this future. Unquestionably she preserved some of those ties with St. Petersburg which Talleyrand had arranged at Erfurt, and Metternich privately kept up a correspondence the secret of which has lately been discovered. It was prudent to have an eye toward the possibility that victory might not be faithful to the flags of imperial France.

Meanwhile Austria did not fail to give Napoleon the military aid he demanded, and by the treaty of alliance of March 14, 1812, she placed at the emperor's disposal an army of 50,000 men, under the command of Schwarzenberg, which took its position on the right wing of the Grand Army and set out with it for the conquest of Russia.

Here was indeed a coalition, a coalition of Europe, but with

France against England and against Russia. The Europe of that moment was the Grand Empire. With his left resting upon the Prussian contingents and his right upon those of Austria, the emperor crossed the Niemen on June 24, 1812; less than three months afterward he was at Moscow and appeared to be in a position to construct Europe "*selon le songe qu'il rêvait*".

V.

The Napoleonic empire dissolved in the flames of burning Moscow, in the snow and ice of a terrible retreat. Russia then showed patriotic heroism in an admirable degree, and was recompensed by deliverance. She was yet to be the nucleus of the coalition of Europe. Not that that coalition was formed at once. On the contrary, in spite of the certainty of ultimate success, it was brought about slowly and with difficulty; it was never cordial or unanimous, because it was only a coalition of kings.

The imperial Grand Army having been thrown back, in a miserable condition, beyond the frontiers of Russia, it would seem that the Prussian and Austrian armies should have pressed forward at once to make the emperor's disaster complete. He had indeed feared this and, barely saved at the passage of the Beresina, he had passed through Poland and Germany incognito in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies. But the rising of Europe was not so rapid.

The Prussian contingent which was serving in the Grand Army under the command of General Yorck deserted at the end of December, 1812, and joined the Russian armies. But he was disavowed by the Berlin government, and the fragments of the French armies were able to retreat undisturbed from the Vistula to the Oder, and then to the Elbe.

Then, however, Frederick William III., almost reassured, decided upon a close alliance with Russia; this was the important, and in some respects decisive, result of his interview at Kalisch with Tsar Alexander I.

Immediately, however, those preoccupations of pure self-interest made themselves manifest which had made the coalition difficult, and which were to leave it always precarious and frail. The first condition of a true coalition is disinterested devotion to great moral causes; the coalition of the kings against Napoleon never ceased to be vitiated by egoism.

Thus the Russo-Prussian alliance at Kalisch (February, 1812) was inspired by the thought of obtaining the utmost possible profit

from victory, for Russia and for Prussia. Russia dreamed of taking all Poland, Prussia of bringing German unity into existence after its own plans and under its own hegemony. From Kalisch the two sovereigns sent forth eloquent proclamations to the people of Germany summoning them to the great crusade of liberty: admirable principles, indeed, capable of giving to the coalition a sacred character. But this was but the mask of the dynastic interests; a camouflage, arranged to deceive simple-minded populations.

From the first, the movement was alarming to Austria. For she had no faith that she could give liberty to her peoples without committing suicide, and every appeal to national sentiment was to her like a funeral knell. She continued her relations with Napoleon. She drew back her troops within her own frontiers. But she made no pronouncement. Metternich prepared himself for a close-knit diplomatic campaign, and kept the Austrian army in hand for an advantageous intervention.

He was well pleased at the defeats inflicted by Napoleon upon the Russians and the Prussians at Lützen and Bautzen. Their effect would be that the governments of Berlin and of St. Petersburg would not be able to dictate their conditions; that they would still have to reckon with the new French armies and with the emperor's genius; that, with the forces in the field still not unevenly balanced, the weight of Austria would be important. So Metternich offered his mediation, which at once brought about the armistice of Pläswitz; for two months military operations were suspended.

The two opposing parties, the emperor on the one side and Prussia and Russia on the other, solicited the intervention of Austria. Napoleon to be sure made little effort and few sacrifices for it. He did not believe that Austria would side against him; he knew well the divergence of interest that separated her from St. Petersburg and Berlin. It seems indeed that at no great cost he might have kept her with him; there is opportunity even now for a very interesting study upon the circumstances of the interview of Dresden, but this is not the time for it.

Russia and Prussia on the other hand, who had just been beaten and who no doubt would have been crushed by a combination of France and Austria, showed themselves much disposed to conciliation, gave Austria all the guaranties she required, especially in respect to their incendiary proclamations of Kalisch, disavowed the liberal doctrines which they had for a moment unfurled as a standard, and entered again into the spirit of the old régime.

Thenceforth restoration was the order of the day. Such was

the spirit of the treaty of Teplitz (September 9, 1813). Already Great Britain had signed with Prussia and Russia the convention of Reichenbach (June 14); she gave in her adherence to the treaty of Teplitz. The coalition was made, but on the principle of the restoration of the old Europe. The battle of Leipzig, October 16-19, was the battle of the nations, but the victory of the kings. They would leave to Napoleon the privilege and the glory of representing revolutionary ideas and national aspirations.

So they claimed not to be warring against France but only against Napoleon, and in the Notifications of Frankfort they accorded to France her natural frontiers, that is to say, especially, the frontier of the Rhine, without which she had no security; thus they sanctioned the work of the Revolution and the freely expressed desire of the Rhenish population to be a part of the French Republic. But thereafter they no more respected the national aspirations of France than those of the other nations of Europe.

They crossed the Rhine; France was once more invaded, as in 1792 and 1793, and their armies appeared in the basin of Paris. The war of independence, as the German historians called it, had become a war of plunder. Therefore it was that, eagerly disputing among themselves the spoils of the vanquished, they were in no true agreement and their contradictory interests constantly produced exasperation. Successful at first at La Rothière, they were defeated again and again, at Champaubert, at Montmirail, at Montereau, and thrown back upon the upper waters of the Marne. The results were such as had followed upon the defeats of Lützen and Bautzen.

The intense rivalry which separated Austria from Russia and Prussia came near bringing them again into hostilities and breaking up the coalition. Alexander I. and Frederick William III. reproached Schwarzenberg for the defeat of Blücher at Montmirail, due to the failure of the Austrian peoples to support him, and the quarrel became bitter. It has been set forth with great precision by the Austrian historian Dr. August Fournier, who calls this episode "the crisis of Châtillon". The congress of Châtillon was the scene of the episode, and if Napoleon had been willing to give more conciliatory instructions to his representative, the Duke of Vicenza, the Austrian government was quite ready to come to an agreement with him against the "*enragés*" of Prussia and Austria, so Metternich said.

But in fact, though he had married the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, Napoleon could not make common cause with the House

of Hapsburg, whose whole policy was counter-revolutionary. Moreover he hoped that he might still play off these deep rivalries against each other. And in fact the crisis of Châtillon, of which however he knew little, went far, and the coalition came near breaking up, which would have had the gravest consequences to the kings.

The situation was saved by English diplomacy, very ably represented at Châtillon by Lord Castlereagh. He showed the allies with much eloquence that their divisions, as had just been proved, ran the risk of bringing a common disaster upon them all and of saving Napoleon. They understood him. The "*enragés*" became more reasonable. Austria renounced the thought of coming to terms with France and in them caring for the interests of the Empress Marie Louise and the King of Rome. The coalition was drawn together again; this was the object of the treaty of Chaumont, March 1, 1814.

In the treaty of Chaumont, the coalition of Europe is at last represented in all of its essential traits. It brings closely together, against Napoleon and revolutionary France, the governments of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. It is based upon the principles of the old régime; the allied powers engage to remain united against the formidable doctrines that issued forth from the France of 1789, that is to say, against the freedom of the nations and their right of self-determination.

The treaty of Chaumont gave the victory to the allies and to their counter-revolutionary principles. Napoleon was beaten at Arcis-sur-Aube. Paris was taken. Napoleon was ironically reduced to the sovereignty of the island of Elba. The Bourbons were brought back to France to represent there the old régime. The revolution was stifled in the disaster of Napoleon.

VI.

The coalition of the kings was not slow to apply its principles. On April 11 the treaty of Fontainebleau sent Napoleon to his new place of residence. On May 30 the first treaty of Paris set forth in a striking form the laws which were to be imposed upon Europe.

France was brought back to her frontiers of 1792, that is to say, to the frontiers she had had in the time of the kings. Since that time, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of populations, Avignon, Mulhouse, and afterward Belgium, Luxemburg, and all the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, organized into French departments, had loudly manifested their desire to be incorporated into the French nation, in accordance with the aspira-

tions they had entertained for centuries, in accordance with the historic right upon which Roman Gaul had led a happy life for centuries. Moreover all these populations had known under French administration a striking prosperity; the names of the prefects of Coblenz and Mainz, Leçay-Marnésie and Jean Bon Saint André, are still popular there. When after Leipzig Napoleon had issued a call for volunteers, the department of Mont-Tonnerre, of which Mainz was the capital, had sent him more than any other French department. Beyond question, the populations of the left bank of the Rhine desired to remain French.

They were not consulted, and, in spite of them, against all their aspirations, against all historic right, they were distributed like cattle. The Rhine region was to be assigned to Prussia (what right had she there?) and Belgium was immediately assigned to Holland, from which she was as different as possible. The solution of the other problems presented by the victory of the kings and the defeat of Napoleon was reserved for the general peace congress which was to be held at Vienna. But it was easy to see in advance what the character of the work of pacification would be.

The congress at Vienna did not come together until October, 1814. Ever since May the kings had been enjoying their successes and passing under triumphal arches erected by their grateful subjects. Perhaps also they had refrained from hastening their meeting because of being almost sure that they would not be able to agree.

In fact they held but one session in all, in which they fell naturally into disagreement. The story is well known. The Four had made in advance their little arrangements and expected to impose them by force on all the other nations which had not been crowned with the glory of successful warfare. "The four allied powers" . . . began Metternich. "Allied!" interrupted Talleyrand, "against whom? Against France? But King Louis XVIII. is not the Emperor Napoleon, and if you are still allied against France there is nothing for me to do but withdraw." They kept him, for they might have need of him; representative of Louis XVIII., he in fact represented the ancient law or rights of nations, as he pointedly remarked to the Prussian plenipotentiaries; that is to say, he represented the principle which had restored the Bourbons to the throne of France, the principle of legitimate right.

But let us understand the matter clearly; this right of nations is not the right of peoples, on the contrary it is dynastic right, the right, claimed by kings, to dispose of the peoples. It was this right of nations which was the law of the Congress of Vienna.

Under this imposing cover of principles set forth in the most solemn language, the business of the Congress of Vienna was simply to divide the peoples of Europe like so much booty, as had been done already on the left bank of the Rhine and in Belgium.

Then the quarrels began afresh; the devouring dogs showed their fangs. Prussia and Russia wished a suitable rounding-out of their territories. Russia desired the whole of Poland, Prussia the whole of Germany or at least the political supremacy over North Germany. Thus they would, up to a certain point, have fallen in with the principle of nationalities. For this reason they were disposed to allow French influence, in conformity with that principle, to extend itself in one form or another to the Rhine, and proposed such an arrangement to Talleyrand.

But Talleyrand, representative of King Louis XVIII., represented the right of nations, not the right of peoples. He rejoiced to see the allies divided, which was in no wise astonishing, but he preferred to draw into close relations with Austria and the English Tories, who represented the venerable traditions of the old régime, and he signed with them the secret treaty of January 3, 1815: France the ally of Austria and of Great Britain against the immortal principles of the French Revolution; France the champion of the rights of kings. How could Napoleon fail to remain in the memory of the peoples as the legendary hero of the Revolution!

He came back from Elba and resumed the crown without having fired a shot, plainly therefore through the will of the French nation. At once, as after Lützen and Bautzen, as after Montmirail and Montereau, the coalition of the kings was again formed. The two opposing parties entered into convention, drew their lines anyhow across Europe, cut national aspirations to pieces, and at the end brought into existence the final act of the Congress of Vienna, an act which does little honor to those who signed it, June 9, 1815.

Waterloo, nine days after, caused no change, inspired in the minds of the victors only additional precautions against France, from whom they took away the essential fortresses that guaranteed her security, Phillippeville and Marienburg at the sources of the Oise in front of Charleroi, Bouillon in front of Luxemburg, Sarrelouis at the entrance into Lorraine, Landau at the entrance into Alsace. It was necessary that France, the cradle and central hearth of national liberties, should be put into such a position that she could be watched very near at hand, invaded in case of need, crushed if necessary; subsequent events have cast a sinister illumination upon this plan of the kings.

These precautions taken, the emperor at St. Helena, France subdued and with the knife at her throat, the kings could finally divide and enjoy their spoils.

Poland was mutilated and partitioned for the fourth time; unhappy Poland! But she did not die. The grand-duchy of Warsaw passed into the power of the tsar, under the deceptive title of the constitutional kingdom of Poland. Galicia returned to the empire of Austria. Prussia kept Danzig and Posnania. To one fragment of Poland, the republic of Cracow, the kings deigned to allow a little longer existence.

The Germanic Confederation was constituted under the hereditary presidency of Austria and vice-presidency of Prussia. The different states preserved nearly the same form and magnitude that they had had in Napoleon's time, yet rearrangements were arbitrarily effected that were founded solely on the right of the strongest. Thus the King of Saxony had shown fidelity to his benefactor Napoleon; such virtuous conduct deserved its punishment, and since Prussia, having lost Warsaw, must have some compensation, a third of the Saxon kingdom was given to her; she has kept it ever since, without having, to speak plainly, any right to it whatever.

But all this was not enough to satisfy her, and so they gave her the Rhine province, to which she could pretend no right, either historic or national. The Grand Turk would not have been more completely a foreigner to it. The inhabitants, who desired to remain French, of course were not consulted. Nay more, in the first months of the occupation, she learned that at Sarrebrück there were important coal deposits. It would be good to take them, which is one of the reasons why the gap of Sarrelouis-Sarrebrück was made in the frontier of French Lorraine. Was there in all this the least appearance of right of any sort?

And Italy, which had lately manifested in every way the most fervent national sentiment, which had begun to feel the currents of life around the three colors of her flag—what regard was paid to her? "A geographic expression", said Metternich with disdain. She was left in pieces; the kingdom of Naples, the Papal States, the grand-duchy of Tuscany, the duchy of Parma, the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, bound in chains to Austria.

Restoration indeed, but restoration of the privileges of the old régime, of the sovereignty of kings; the peoples brought back within the bounds of servitude. And since a revolt on their part could be

foreseen—for they had too well tasted of liberty not to seek to return to it—the kings formed a Holy Alliance, a mutual insurance against revolutionary fires, an armed peace of kings leagued against their peoples, and therefore a peace precarious and false. Immediately the oppressed nations shook their chains terrifyingly, and for a hundred years directed against the despotism of the kings a battle of which the Great War must be the last episode.

In the evolution of humanity toward the organization of a society founded upon right, even as in each nation every individual must have freedom for full and just development, so each nation must have its full assurance of liberty and of normal life. Before founding the Society of Nations it was necessary, it still is necessary, to give the nations their completion. That was the work of the nineteenth century, very imperfectly carried out to be sure, for Prussia introduced poisonous principles into this natural development of nationality, claiming to found the future of humanity upon force, in accordance with the maxims of barbarous times, and at many points, and not in Alsace-Lorraine alone, she has set aside the laws of national formation. At the east, at the west, and at the north of Germany there are fundamental corrections to be made.

But the profound thought of President Wilson will now be understood, when lately he contrasted as over against the obsolete work of the Congress of Vienna, the new work of the congress at Versailles. At Versailles, in the Tennis Court Oath, the deputies of the French nation swore not to separate until they had given a constitution to France. At Versailles to-day the deputies of freed humanity, on the ruins of the pretended Holy Alliance of the central empires, will found the Society of Nations on principles precisely contrary, on liberty and on right. Thus perhaps they will succeed in giving to peace a secure foundation.

ÉDOUARD DRIAULT.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

DISLOYALTY IN TWO WARS

AMONG the many interesting comparisons that now can and will be made between the war of 1861 and that of 1917 in respect to the policies and achievements of the American government, none is likely to be more striking than that concerned with the treatment of disloyal civilians. The situations confronting the authorities at the two crises were of course widely different on their face. A civil war, with hostilities raging close to the seat of government, and a foreign war, with the centre of action three thousand miles away, must present unlike problems. Yet a very casual reading in the contemporary literature of the two periods reveals a far-reaching parallelism in incidents and ideas.

For dealing with the non-military activities of Southern sympathizers the Lincoln administration had at the outbreak of war little statutory or judicial equipment. Few of the enterprises that were most helpful to the South were criminal under federal law or cognizable by the federal courts. Nor was there a Department of Justice with organization and personnel suitable to cope with the situation. Moreover Congress was not at hand to enact necessary legislation. Under all the circumstances the restraint of civilian disloyalty was taken in hand by the executive without reference to legislative or judicial sanction. Mr. Lincoln assumed that his constitutional power as commander-in-chief sufficed for all contingencies that actual war produced, and that he was therefore under no obligation, when protecting and defending the Constitution, to await the authorization of Congress or the sanction of the courts. This assumption remained to the end of the war the basis of the administration's policy.

Upon the outbreak of hostilities there ensued a great and widespread activity in seizing and incarcerating suspected persons in the North. The process was carried on with much zeal but with no semblance of regularity or system. The offenses alleged ran the whole gamut from open treason and levying war to unexpressed compassion for the traitors. As evidence warranting arrest the telegraphic allegation from an unknown source was often as effective as the seizure of correspondence or munitions of war in transit to the Confederates. The agents who actually made the arrests in-

cluded military and naval officers of the United States, federal marshals and district attorneys, and a variety of state functionaries, including sheriffs, constables, and especially city police. Finally, the officials from whom the orders for arrest proceeded showed as much diversity as the other elements in the situation. The commander of the army, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, but above all the Secretary of State shared among themselves the responsibility for filling the prisons. Of 103 prisoners in Fort Lafayette, New York, on October 14, 1861, sixty-five had been sent there by the Secretary of State. This probably is about the proportion in which the energetic Seward absorbed the functions of the administration in its early months. Neither the President nor the Attorney General appears as directly concerned in the business of civilian arrests, though some of the orders sent out by the secretaries professed to be by direction or authority of the President.

The prisoners that crowded the forts in which they were confined constituted a most heterogeneous aggregation. There were soldiers and sailors charged with military offenses; there were civilians charged with criminal offenses; there were Southerners who claimed to be alien enemies but were charged with being traitorous citizens; there were Northerners charged with offenses that were no crimes or held, in many cases, with no charge at all. All these classes indiscriminately were in the custody of the army, and no man could get a discharge except through the Secretary of War. Attempts to test and define through the judiciary the authority involved in this situation were peremptorily thwarted by the President's suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. It became necessary, however, to introduce eventually some system into the existing chaos. Whether the end should be reached by legislation or by executive action, was a question that gave rise to an interesting conflict between the two departments of the government. The result, as the record shows, was a distinct triumph for the executive.

Some advance in classification was made during 1861 by the official as well as popular recognition of a category of "political prisoners" or "state prisoners". These, the Attorney General explained, were persons arrested not in order to be brought to trial in a civil court for an alleged crime, but in order to be held "subject to the somewhat broad and as yet undefined discretion of the President as political chief of the nation". Because they were usually arrested and held by military authority, they were known also as military prisoners. They were distinguished not only from ordinary

judicial prisoners, but also very clearly from prisoners of war; for the manner of treatment and the right to be exchanged that were assured to the latter by military law were not shared by the political prisoners.

In February, 1862, the Secretary of War issued two executive orders relating to political prisoners. The first directed that, so far as the public welfare will allow, "all political prisoners or state prisoners now held in military custody" be released on their signed parole not to give aid or comfort to the enemy. It was further directed that thereafter "extraordinary arrests" be made by military authority alone. The second order named two commissioners whose duty it should be to examine all "state prisoners" and determine whether they should be discharged, remanded, or sent to the civil courts for trial.

The procedure embodied in these orders was followed without substantial change throughout the war. Civilians were arrested by military order, held in military confinement, and subjected to examination by commissioners appointed *ad hoc* by the Secretary of War. In the later years of the war the functions of these commissioners were in some measure taken over by the Judge-Advocate General's office, which was created in the War Department. In any case it remained perfectly clear that the executive was applying a far-reaching power over the liberty of citizens, with no restraint whatever by the other departments of the government.

Congress sought to assert its own authority in the matter. It empowered the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, so that what he had been doing for years might have the sanction of its legislation. It added to the list of crimes various acts promotive of rebellion and obstructive of recruiting and the draft, so that offenders could be taken care of by the courts. In particular it enacted that lists of political prisoners must be promptly furnished to the federal courts and the prisoners discharged if no indictments should be found against them.

None of this legislation produced any important effect on the policy or procedure of the administration. Mr. Lincoln retained to the end his conviction that he could handle the habeas corpus matter without reference to Congress. There were few prosecutions for the new crimes that Congress created. As to the peremptory requirement that political prisoners be referred to the courts, some perfunctory attention was given to the act immediately after its passage, but the War Department soon settled back into its old procedure. Persons held in confinement by the executive "otherwise

than as prisoners of war" (to use the words of the law) were transferred, remanded, or released on the judgment, not of the federal courts, but of commissioners appointed by the Secretary of War.

This consistent policy of the administration was due not only to the initial lack of legislation and of adequate organs in the executive departments for dealing with civil war, but also to the unwavering conviction of Mr. Lincoln that the President was vested by the Constitution with a war power so broad and indefinite as to include whatever in his judgment would promote the success of the government's cause. The arrest and detention by summary procedure of civilians suspected of "disloyal practices" he believed to be indispensable to such success, and he felt justified in acting accordingly irrespective of the opinion of either Congress or the courts on the subject.

The record of our war with Germany stands in almost startling contrast to that of the Civil War. President Wilson's authority, actually exercised, surpassed in variety and scope the wildest dreams of 1861-1865. He had in his almost unrestricted control not only the entire man-power of the nation but also its commerce, industry, finance, and transportation. Even the food and health of the people were subject to his supreme regulation. The Lincoln administration might, indeed, have assumed all these sweeping powers; but there would have remained the fundamental distinction that Wilson's authority was based, both in theory and in practice, not upon the constitutional functions of the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, but upon acts of Congress.

This distinction appears perfectly in the matter with which we are particularly concerned. "Disloyalty", "aiding and abetting the enemy", "giving aid and comfort to our foes", were the current coin of fervid speech in 1918 relatively as often as half a century before. "Pacifists" and "pro-Germans" caused as much distress to agitated patriots as did Copperheads and Southern sympathizers, and produced no less astonishing exhibitions of what is now called "war psychology". But our latest war, with all its complexities, has had no "political prisoners" or "prisoners of state", no military arrests, and no suspension of the habeas corpus.

When in 1863 the *Chicago Times* denounced in extreme terms the policy and the personnel of the administration, the paper was summarily suppressed by an order of General Burnside, executed by a detachment of soldiers. When in 1917 the *Missouri Staats-Zeitung* attacked the war policy of the President and "played up Germany's military successes", the authors of the articles were ar-

rested, indicted, tried by jury, and convicted. In 1863 former Congressman Vallandigham at a Democratic meeting charged the Lincoln government with base motives and monstrous tyranny in the conduct of the war; he was seized at night by a squad of soldiers, tried by a military commission, and eventually sent beyond the Union lines into the Confederacy. In 1917 former Congressman Berger wrote and distributed Socialistic speeches and pamphlets bitterly assailing the Wilson administration; he was arrested on warrant, tried by jury, and convicted.

So far as any formal pronouncement defined the basis of the procedure in the Civil War, this is to be found in the President's proclamation of September 24, 1862, declaring that "discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting military drafts, or . . . any disloyal practice affording aid and comfort to the rebels" would subject the offender to martial law. By proclamation of September 15, 1863, Mr. Lincoln denied the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus to persons held as "aiders or abettors of the enemy". "Disloyal practices" and "aiding and abetting" thus became the basic terms upon which was built by interpretation an imposing array of offenses that could bring a man before a military court. Such, it was declared, were expressions exalting the character, motives, capacity, or resources of the enemy, overrating his success, underrating our own achievements, complaining against the officers of the government, and inflaming party spirit among ourselves.

Extreme as this appears, it is not far from what was made criminal by the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, as amended May 16, 1918. By these laws, spying and other such crimes were made cognizable by the civil as well as by the military courts, and the following were added to the list of criminal acts: Falsehoods to obstruct the sale of bonds; acts or statements causing disloyalty in the army and navy; "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the form of government of the United States, or its Constitution, flag, army and navy, or uniform; and saying or printing anything to promote the cause of the enemy or to curtail the production of things essential to the prosecution of the war.

Thus the extent to which restriction of normal liberty by the government was deemed necessary was substantially the same in the one crisis as in the other. The great difference in the methods of applying the restriction was due in large part to two facts. First, federal jurisdiction in criminal matters was in 1861 very limited, and the extension required by the new situation would probably have met with successful opposition both in and out of Congress. Sec-

ond, in 1861 there was no executive machinery for dealing systematically on a large scale with criminal cases. The Attorney General received only by the act of August 2, 1861, authority to supervise and direct United States marshals and district attorneys. Prior to that date these officials were under no specific executive department. This accounts for the utter confusion in the handling of disloyalty at the outbreak of the war. In 1917, on the contrary, the Attorney General was the head of the Department of Justice, equipped with complete authority and a numerous personnel throughout the nation. All powers vested in the President by the legislation referred to were by executive order turned over for exercise to the Attorney General in May, 1918. The secret service of the Department of Justice established at once close relations with the Military Intelligence Office of the army, and the joint activity of these two was responsible for the striking results achieved.

The spirit and record of the Wilson administration must give much satisfaction to those who seek an abiding reign of law. It would, however, be a highly sanguine student of history who would assert that the normal course of justice would have been consistently maintained in our last war if the enemy had been as near to Washington as he was in 1861, or if the conflict had lasted four years, or if great reverses had been experienced, or if our coasts had been threatened at close range by a high-seas fleet instead of by a lonely and furtive submarine.

W. A. DUNNING.

HISTORICAL WORK BY ARMY GENERAL STAFFS¹

WITH the growth of a general staff in an army, when a feeling of responsibility for the sources of information which general staff co-ordination brought together was recognized, and when the necessity for the study and authorized dissemination of the information

¹ The writer desires to make grateful acknowledgment to Col. C. W. Weeks, G. S., chief of the Historical Branch of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, and to Col. J. R. M. Taylor, U. S. A., librarian of the Army War College, for the opportunity and incentive which made possible the writing of this article.

Excellent critical bibliographies of the South African and Russo-Japanese wars are to be found in earlier numbers of this *Review*: "The Literature of the South African War, 1899-1902", by a British Officer, XII. 299-321 (1907); a supplementary communication, by Dr. H. ver Loren van Themaat, XV. 430-432 (1910); "The Literature of the Russo-Japanese War", by a British Officer, XVI. 508-528, 736-750 (1911). Inasmuch as the general staff histories of these wars were still in process of publication, reference to them in these articles is brief and incidental.

was seen, the writing of military history by army officers, except in the guise of memoirs, began to cease. The formation of a historical section in a general staff composed of officers with historical training or aptitudes, was therefore only a matter of course.

Inasmuch as the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 was the first great war the direction of which was dominated by a general staff, it would be expected that the first general staff history would deal with that war. Such is practically, if not exactly, the case. Officers of the Russian General Staff published, in the generation after Waterloo, a large history of the Seven Years' War.² A Russian history of operations of the year 1812 was written, and a translation of it into German published in 1862 and 1863, which bears every mark of the beginnings of general staff control,³ and a French work in 1865 shows in its title a further step in the same direction.⁴ The year 1867, however, saw a work by the Historical Section of the German Great General Staff on the campaign of the year 1866. It is a single volume, issued as a sort of trial effort in a new field, with none too great assurance, recognizing in the introduction that its presentation is one-sided. It seemed good enough, however, to merit the English translation which followed five years later.⁵

But it was with the Franco-German War that general staff history really began. In the introduction to the English translation made by Major Clarke of the work begun by the German General Staff in 1872 and finished in 1880,⁶ this statement appears: "The account will ever remain a standard military classic of one of the most remarkable campaigns in the world's history." The history deals almost exclusively with operations, treated in an over-strict chronological fashion, although here and there are scattered well-written criticisms and summaries. There seems to be a certain lack

² *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, von den Offizieren des Grossen Generalstabes (8 vols., 1824-1847).

³ M. Bogdanovitch, *Geschichte des Feldzuges im Jahre 1812, nach den Zuverlässigsten Quellen, auf Allerhöchsten Befehl*, translated by G. Baumgarten (3 vols., 1862-1863).

⁴ *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon III. en Italie, 1859*, rédigée au Dépôt de la Guerre (1862).

⁵ *Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland*, redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Grossen Generalstabes (1867). Translated into English by Colonel von Wright and Capt. H. M. Hozier, *The Campaign of 1866 in Germany* (1872, repr. 1907).

⁶ *Der Deutsch-Französische Krieg 1870-71*, redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Grossen Generalstabes (20 Hefte in 7 vols., 1872-1880). Translated into English, *The Franco-German War, 1870-71* (5 vols., 1874-1884), by Major F. C. H. Clarke in the Topographical and Statistical Department of the War Office. Another edition of the German (5 vols., 1875-1881).

of balance, and the lack of an analytical index had to be supplied in the English translation. Nor is the work free from an occasional taint of propaganda—an unhistorical mark which reappears in nearly all the later work of the German General Staff—such as is found at the end of Heft 8, written in 1875 (pp. 1305-1306), which glowingly explains the expectant glances of the German army Parisward.

Among other reasons why the French were late in publishing general staff histories of the Franco-German War, must be taken into account the fact that French history on the modern plan was only begun with the establishment in 1868 of the *École des Hautes Études*. Also the archives of the general staff of the French Second Army and a large portion of the archives of the General Staff itself were destroyed March 18, 1871. General Ducrot was authorized by the minister of war, April 22, 1872, to publish a history of the defense of Paris.⁷ Here there is something besides a description of operations, for two chapters are devoted to political and diplomatic matters, five chapters to economic mobilization, and one book in the third volume to civilian morale.

Beginning in 1873 there were various commissions of inquiry which published documents of all kinds, but it was not until 1901, at about the same time that the General Staff began to publish hitherto unedited memoranda in the *Revue Militaire*, 1899, and in the *Revue d'Histoire*, 1901, that the elaborate French General Staff history in forty-three volumes began to appear.⁸ In the opinion even of French officers this is the poorest of all general staff histories. It was followed in 1906⁹ and in 1912¹⁰ by two volumes practically supplements, and these by two monographs by Lieut.-Col. E. Picard, chief of the Historical Section of the General Staff.¹¹ On page 293 of the second volume of *Sedan*, after mention of the present state of men and matériel, the following striking passage appears: "Voilà certes de quoi permettre à la France de regarder l'avenir avec confiance et d'envisager sans crainte l'heure où elle aurait à défendre son sol et à assurer ses destinées."

⁷ A. A. Ducrot, *La Défense de Paris, 1870-1871* (4 vols., 1875-1878).

⁸ *La Guerre de 1870-1871*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (43 vols., 1901-1914).

⁹ A. Martinien, *État Nominatif des Officiers tués ou blessés, Guerre de 1870-1871*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (2 vols., 1902, 1906).

¹⁰ *Id.*, *La Mobilisation de l'Armée, Mouvement des Dépôts, Armée Active, 1870-71*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (1912).

¹¹ E. Picard, *1870: La Guerre en Lorraine* (2 vols., 1911); *1870: Sedan* (2 vols., 1912).

The works on the wars of 1866 and 1870 were done by the War History Section of the German General Staff, but beginning with the war with Denmark there is a slight change in the way in which authorship is expressed, the General Staff itself assuming primary responsibility. That this has the importance which has been attached to it the present writer inclines to doubt. At all events it was felt necessary first to complete the cycle of the wars of Kaiser Wilhelm I., and this was done in 1886.¹² This cleared the way for the *magnum opus* which the Historical Section was finally able to begin.¹³ Although the First Silesian War of Frederick the Great began exactly a century and a half before the German General Staff history of it was started, it had not been possible earlier to get access to the Austrian, French, and Saxon archives, or the family archives of the Wolfenbüttel, Zerbst, and other German houses. The opportunity had now come, and recognition of the fact is made, in the introduction to the first volume of the twenty-one dedicated to the wars of Frederick the Great, in the following words: "Therefore there is now material at hand enough to allow the historical presentation of the deeds which surround the name of the Great King with everlasting glory, and which opened to Prussia the road to a place as a great European power." In the fifth volume of *The Seven Years' War* there is a chapter on morale ("Geist und Werth des Heeres"),¹⁴ which has an enlightening description of the method of instilling hatred of the enemy (*Feindeshass*) into a body of recruits who have no military tradition or stimulus for enthusiasm; and in the tenth and twelfth volumes are several unhistorical rodomontades on "mit dem Schwerte in der Hand" and "der Appell an das scharfe Schwert".

The French General Staff followed the lead of the German in going back to the wars of their military genius. In 1902 a three-volume work appeared,¹⁵ followed in 1907 by one of five volumes,¹⁶ on campaigns of Napoleon.

¹² *Der Deutsch-Dänische Krieg, 1864*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte (2 vols., 1886-1887).

¹³ *Die Kriege Friedrichs des Grossen: Der Erste Schlesische Krieg, 1740-1742* (3 vols., 1890-1893); *Der Zweite Schlesische Krieg, 1744-1745* (3 vols., 1895); *Der Siebenjährige Krieg, 1756-1763* (15 vols., 1901-1913), herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte.

¹⁴ Ch. VI., pp. 51-57.

¹⁵ Comm. Sasaki, *Campagne de 1809 en Allemagne et en Autriche* (3 vols., 1899-1902), publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée.

¹⁶ Comm. Balagny, *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon en Espagne, 1808-1809* (5 vols., 1902-1907), publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée.

The Russians were over twenty years in beginning a general staff history of the Russo-Turkish War. A colonel in the German army published three volumes of critical sidelights on the war based on the memoirs of Kuropatkin, which if it did not have general staff authority was certainly for staff and military consumption. When the Russian General Staff work did appear¹⁷ it was at once translated into German, with the recognition that it was *besonders wichtig*.

The South African War was not yet finished before histories of it began. The first official works of staff interest were the Canadian reports,¹⁸ which dealt mostly with equipment and transportation. The French General Staff began in 1901 to make studies on the war, and as soon as it was over published a three-volume history¹⁹ with the statement that although no one ought to dream of writing as yet the history of the South African War, nevertheless the lively interest it had aroused, the polemics it had created, and the often hasty conclusions which had been drawn from actions in it, had made it necessary to bring to the knowledge of the military public the information at present available from creditable sources. This work was followed by the report of the English Royal Commission²⁰ "to inquire into the military preparations for the War in South Africa and into the supply of men, ammunition, equipment, and transport . . . and into the military operations", etc. The German General Staff work was next. It treated the war in Hefte 32-35²¹ of a series of historical monographs—about which more will be said below—this being the first attempt of the German General Staff to deal with events in which the German army took no part, and to utilize the experience gained by other powers beyond the confines of Europe, particularly inasmuch as Germany had be-

¹⁷ *Der Russisch-Türkische Krieg 1877-1878 auf der Balkan Halbinsel*, verfasst von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Commission des Kais.-Russischen Hauptstabes. Translated under the chief of the Austro-Hungarian staff and published by direction of the Kriegs-archiv, by V. Grzesicki and F. Wiedstruck (7 vols., 1902-1911).

¹⁸ *Organization, Equipment, Despatch, and Service of the Canadian Contingents during the War in South Africa, 1899-1900* (Department of Militia and Defence for the Dominion of Canada, Sessional papers, 1901, Supplementary Report no. 35a; *id.*, 1903, no. 35a).

¹⁹ P. V. Fournier, *La Guerre Sud-Africaine*, publié sous la direction du 2^e Bureau de l'État-Major Général de l'Armée (3 vols., 1902-1904).

²⁰ *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Military Preparations and other Matters connected with the War in South Africa* (1903); *Minutes of Evidence* (3 vols., 1903).

²¹ See note 30. Also a series of Hefte, *Die Kämpfe der Deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika*. (Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung I. des Grossen Generalstabes) from *Vierteljahrsheften für Truppenführung und Heereskunde* (1906-).

come a colonial power. These volumes were translated by English staff authority in 1905 and 1906. The English staff was last in publishing its history of the war.²²

The General Staff of the United States army was the first to publish official reports on the Russo-Japanese War, a volume of reports of military attachés appearing in 1906,²³ and an epitome of the war in 1907.²⁴ The English staff history began to appear in 1908,²⁵ the Austrian in the same year,²⁶ and the German in Hefte 37-49 of its historical monographs. The Russian General Staff history appeared in 1910 and was at once translated into English, French, and German by their respective general staffs.²⁷ The Japanese official reports in twenty volumes began to appear in 1911.²⁸

The German General Staff early recognized distinct fields for its historical publications. It took under its aegis in 1892 Moltke's correspondence;²⁹ in 1898 it began a series of monographs, with a total of fifty Hefte to date,³⁰ which gave official sanction to certain chosen diaries, memoirs, criticisms of past operations, or plans for future ones, etc.; and finally in 1901 it began a series of studies on military history and tactics, beginning with the Franco-German War

²² *History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902*, compiled by direction of His Majesty's Government by Maj.-Gen. Sir [John] Frederick Maurice and a staff of officers (8 vols., 4 of maps, 1906-1910).

²³ *Reports of Military Observers attached to the Armies in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War* (War Department, General Staff, no. 8, 5 vols., 1906-1907).

²⁴ *Epitome of the Russo-Japanese War* (War Department, General Staff, no. 11, 1907).

²⁵ *The Russo-Japanese War*, compiled by the General Staff at the War Office (1906), continued as *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War*, prepared by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence (3 vols. in 6, 1908-1912); *British Officers' Reports* (5 vols., 1908).

²⁶ Austrian official reports, *Einzelchriften über den Russisch-Japanischen Krieg*, Beihefte zu *Strenge Oesterr.-Milit. Zeitschrift* (67 Hefte, 1905-1914). *Taktische Detaildarstellungen aus dem Russisch-Japanischen Kriege*, by direction of the Austrian General Staff by Col. von Habermann and Capt. Nowak (12 Hefte, 1908-1914).

²⁷ *Russko-Yaponskaya Voina, 1904-1905* (9 vols., bound in 17 large volumes, 1910), by the Military Historical Committee. Translated into German as *Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg: Amtliche Darstellung des Russischen Generalstabes*, von Freiherr von Tettau (11 vols., 1910-1912). English translation of German translation, by K. von Donat (17 vols., 1908-1914). Translated into French as *Guerre Russo-Japonaise, 1904-1905*, traduction publiée sous la direction de l'État-Major de l'Armée, 2^e Bureau (18 vols., 1910-1913).

²⁸ *Japanese Official Reports* (20 vols., 10 of them maps, 1911).

²⁹ *Moltke's Militärische Werke*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte (15 vols., 1892-1912).

³⁰ *Kriegsgeschichtliche Einzelchriften*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung (50 Hefte in 18 vols., 1885 [1898]-1914).

as being a new epoch in war operations.³¹ This monograph method will in all likelihood be the way in which all general staffs will deal with the publication of details of any sort as subsidiary and supplementary to the larger and more general histories.³²

The most noticeable thing in the general staff histories is the broadening of the subject field. At first nothing was treated but "operations", but gradually, as the general staffs through their coordinating branches began to understand that military operations were only part of a war, chapters of a political, topographical, and diplomatic nature were added; and the story of the mobilization of military forces was supplemented by the story of the mobilization of civic forces and industrial resources, until some of the later general staff histories devote as much as a fourth of their space to operations other than those of a strictly military nature.

Work has already been begun by the general staffs of the armies of several countries on histories of the late World War for civilization. This war ushered in a new epoch in warfare greater than did the Franco-German War in that the phrase "nations in arms" is correct and applicable. That the foreign general staff histories will give much space to civilian operations is certain, not only from the proof of increase in that direction in past histories, but from the nature of the case. The General Staff of the United States army, through its Historical Branch which is working under good auspices and with exemplary realization of its responsibilities, is preserving a good proportion in the assignment of space in its history to the various activities which carried the United States of America through to final victory.

RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN.

³¹ *Studien zur Kriegsgeschichte und Taktik*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung (12 vols., 1901-1913).

³² The titles of several histories written by or under the direction of general staffs, and found in the Army War College library collection, are here added:

British Minor Expeditions, 1746 to 1814, compiled in the Intelligence Branch of the Quartermaster-General's Department (1884).

Col. J. F. Maurice, *Military History of the Campaign of 1882 in Egypt*, prepared in the Intelligence Branch of the War Office (1887).

C. de La Jonquière, *L'Expédition d'Égypte, 1798-1801* (État-Major de l'Armée, Section Historique, 1899-1907).

Scritti Editi e Inediti del Generale Giovanni Cavalli, per ordine del Ministero della Guerra (Turin, 4 vols., 1910).

Crónica Artillera de la Campaña de Melilla de 1909 (Madrid, Ministerio de la Guerra, 1910).

Bosquejo de la Campaña Turco-Balcánica de 1912-13, bajo la dirección del Jefe del Depósito de la Guerra (1913).

Das Preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege 1812-1813, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung II. (1912-1914).

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1917

WE have no precedents in the United States for official histories of the wars in which this country has been engaged. It is true that we have published voluminous reports, that we have issued state papers, sometimes with annotations, and that we have printed source-material, but so far no history properly speaking has been issued with governmental sanction.

The *Rebellion Records* are not only not history but they are hardly a model to be followed.

The Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army was established in February, 1918, and assigned to the duty of preparing an official history of the participation of the United States in the European war which began in 1914. With the creation of a body to write an official history, it became necessary to decide upon the scope of the work. There are a long series of precedents in Europe for the writing of military histories, but they all describe the operations of the belligerent armies with only brief summaries of the diplomatic negotiations which began and closed hostilities, while the problems of supply and maintenance of the armies and their matériel are consigned to a subordinate place if discussed at all. They are essentially military histories, in which the moves of the pieces upon the board are described in minute detail, but in which the forces that set the pieces in play, the means of continuing them in operation, and the causes which produced the end of the movement are all ignored.

There were many reasons for this treatment. The German official history of the war of 1870-1871 is essentially a piece of adroit propaganda issued to impress the world with the invincibility of the German armies, and it furnished a model which was considered if not followed by subsequent writers and compilers of military histories. Then it must be considered that, prior to this war, armies, however large, were instrumentalities of the state rather than the state itself at war. The conception of the nation in arms remained an academic one until the war which has now closed embodied it in peoples engaged in the supply of the fighting armies. In the past, the service of supply ran from the army to bases which received what was necessary for the maintenance of the army, but about these bases the life of the community went on, disturbed perhaps, but fundamentally unchanged. In this war, with the extension of the powers of government in every one of the belligerents, with the enormously increased consumption of munitions, and with the great

size of the armies, the service of supply has run to every door however remote from the theatre of operations.

It accordingly appeared impossible to the Historical Branch to write a history of the participation of the United States upon what may be called the standard lines. The survivors of the war will be interested for fifty years or so in what they did, but posterity, concerned with the great movement of forces, with governments taking over new and strange emergency powers, with the problems of production and supply, rather than with the deeds of individuals, will want to know much which an account of operations cannot give. Then, while the causes which produced effects in war are a matter of common knowledge to the generation which has lived through one, yet these essential facts, being commonplaces, are rapidly forgotten if not recorded. The results are left but the compelling forces rapidly become matters of conjecture and of controversy.

The Historical Branch accordingly decided to describe the United States at war during 1917-1918, in place of limiting the scope of its work to a history of the operations of the American expeditionary forces in Europe and Asia. The general plan of the work, as it is at present, follows. Of course, the plan is not final; it can hardly be that until the type has actually been set up, but we hope that this plan is fairly close to that of the work as it will appear.

As now seen, the general staff history of the War of 1917 ought to consist of about seventeen volumes of some 250,000 words each. The volumes will probably be distributed as follows:

I. General military history, one volume. It will be a review of the whole European war including the participation of the United States in it (the War of 1917). This volume in addition to being a general review will serve to link up and place the subsequent volumes which will fill in the details.

II. Diplomatic relations, three volumes. These will give the diplomatic relations of the United States with the belligerents in Europe, those of the belligerents among themselves, the relations among the allies, their joint actions and programmes, and will include the proceedings of the various peace conferences.

III. Economic mobilization, four volumes. This series will describe the hurried organization of industry, labor, and finance, to meet the needs of the war, the development of basic legislation and machinery, the effort to meet policy, conservation and conversion of industry, price-fixing and priority, and, finally, the working of economic organization in connection with military requirements.

IV. Military mobilization and supply, three volumes. These

will cover organization, armament, equipment, training, and supply in the United States, organization and final training in Europe, work of the service of supply there, and finally, demobilization in Europe and the United States.

V. Military operations, five volumes. It is believed that these will be sufficient to cover the services of the combatant forces of the United States in the various theatres of operation.

VI. Military occupation. This will probably be covered in one volume, but at present, with the uncertainty of the situation, it is obviously impossible to assign definitely the number of volumes.

In addition there will be a pictorial history of the war, containing reproductions of the more important of the large number of photographs which have been taken by military photographers in the theatre of operations and in the rear of the line. This series will cover not only operations but equipment and matériel. Men of to-day will be interested in trying to distinguish themselves in groups on the French front, but posterity will be more interested in knowing exactly how the monstrous guns of to-day were used and how they looked, what the clothing and equipment of the armies were, and similar matters. We do not really know all this for even our Civil War; we have rather vague ideas on the subject for our wars prior to it; but this pictorial history will give us the opportunity to preserve this information in ordered and considered classification.

The plan which has been set forth will enable us to issue a detailed story of the war and of the activities behind the theatres of operation. It is probable that many of our statements and conclusions will be subject to revision. The subject is so vast and so much is still held as confidential abroad that where the activities of the United States and of the belligerents with which we are co-operating coincide there must inevitably be a field but imperfectly lighted. It will be many years before this field is brought under complete illumination, but after all in writing we shall be only secondarily concerned with the activities of the other belligerents. Our primary interest is in the war activities of the United States, and, with the material which is at our disposal and with our access to sources necessarily closed to general investigators, it will be our fault if we do not produce a clear and accurate statement of the play of the forces with which we deal.

We, however, make no claim that we shall say the last word upon any subject. That claim would be idle. There are too many safes and private drawers still to be opened. Furthermore, the history which we have planned will not take the place of the more detailed

and intimate stories of the activities of units both military and civil in this great war. We do, however, believe that our work will tie them together and serve as what may be called a general map of the subject. We realize that the preparation of such detailed accounts is both inevitable and expedient, and, as we conceive the functions of the Historical Branch of the General Staff, its duty will be to aid and facilitate the research necessary for their preparation, and to inform those engaged in writing them where material can be obtained and the use which is permitted under the regulations of the government.

JOHN R. M. TAYLOR, *Colonel, U. S. A.*

DOCUMENTS

Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy, 1857

[THE following entries in Marcy's diary, running from March 4 to April 6, 1857, are, like the entries of 1849-1851 which were printed in our April number (pp. 444-462, *ante*), supplied by Professor Thomas M. Marshall from the manuscript in the possession of Professor Charles S. Sperry. In volume LXXVII. of the Marcy Papers in the Library of Congress there is a copy of these entries. That manuscript also contains entries for April 9, 14, 17, and 18, 1857, and these have been added to Mr. Marshall's text and printed below. The further entries, however, May 14 to July 1, contain nothing of political or historical importance. Ed.]

4th Mar 57. The ceremony of inauguration of Jas Buchanan is now going on. I am prevented from being present by lameness. The last rumour is that the cabinet [is not completed]. The Prest is reported to be vacillating in the choice between Clifford of Maine and Toucey of Conn. Mr. B. has had a full and fair opportunity to ascertain between the character of the two men, and there should be no hesitation in making the selection between the two. There is no political complication to embarrass the choice. Not so I apprehend in regard to the office of P. M. Genl. The correctness of the anticipated praise of the New President for decision of character seems to be thrown into some doubt by his course in regard to the composition of his Cabinet.¹

¹ Nathan Clifford of Maine had been Attorney General, 1846-1848, in Polk's Cabinet, in which Buchanan had been Secretary of State; upon nomination by Buchanan he became a justice of the Supreme Court in January, 1858, and served as such till his death in 1881. Isaac Toucey of Connecticut had been Clifford's successor as Attorney General under Polk, 1848-1849, and was Secretary of the Navy under Buchanan, 1857-1861. The facts now known bear out Marcy's allegations as to Buchanan's vacillation. On February 17 Senator Bigler writes to him from Washington, "The impression is general here today that your Cabinet will be composed of the following names: to wit, Messrs. Cass, Cobb, Toucey, Jones, J. W. Thompson, Brown of Tennessee, and Floyd of Virginia." Jones, *Life and Public Services of J. Glancy Jones*, I. 349. On that same day Buchanan writes Jones that the latter will not be in the Cabinet: "I have finally determined on all the members of the Cabinet except the Attorney-General; and it may be desirable under all circumstances that I should appoint Judge Black to that place." *Ibid.*, I. 358. On February 21 he offers the Treasury to Cobb and the State Department to Cass; letter to Cobb in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1911, II. 397 (see also *ibid.*, 389, 395, 396, and Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men*, II. 240, 421). On the 24th Toombs writes Stephens, "Cass and Cobb have been definitely appointed, none others have been, but Floyd and Jake Thompson and A. V. Brown are pretty sure, but Toucey is in danger and Jones at sea". *Annual*

More anon on this subject. When the Cabinet is formed I shall for my own satisfaction put down my opinion in regard to the men who compose it with a view to compare the result with my anticipation.

Mon. Wash. March 17. 57. An increasing excitement prevailed the mind of all reflecting men in regard to the "Iron rule" which Mr. B. has announced that all officers holding commissions with the four years term are to be dropped and new appts made. It is called the Boys trap usually called Figure four 4.² The rule has been most distinctly and broadly enunciated in its general application to all sections of the country [as] well as to all incumbents. I have as yet seen no elaborate defence of the rule. Mr. Buchanan has made only some general remarks in vindication of it. He declared that if he did not act upon that principle his administration would be broken down in three months.³ To Mr P. Allen (Sen. of R. I.)⁴ he said that the cause of the breakdown of Mr. V. Buren's administration was the retention of office holders. This observation can hardly d[e]rive support from historic facts. Mr. V. B. if I rightly remember made many changes so much so that his was called the Spoils adm.⁵ Though but a few days have elapsed since this pronouncement was put forth it has already been much modified and sectionally abrogated. Southern men very generally denounced it and claimed—nay more—demanded—that their section of the country should be exempt from its operation. This demand has been complied with. It has already received a further restriction in its application to the departmental officers. A very suspicious departure from the Spirit of the rule was shown by one of the first acts of its author. I refer to the case of P. Clayton.⁶ Mr. C. was a whig and received the appt. of 2d

Report, 1911, II. 397, 398. On the 27th Justice Curtis writes to Ticknor, "His Cabinet is settled, with the exception of the Postmaster-General. . . . Mr. Toucey of Connecticut, Attorney-General. . . . Mr. Brown of Tennessee, Secretary of the Navy". Curtis, *Memoir of Benjamin Robbins Curtis*, I. 192-193. And it was not till March 6 that Buchanan offered the attorney-generalship to Black. *Works*, X. 114; *Reminiscences of Jeremiah S. Black*, pp. 99-100. See under March 19, *post*.

² Humorous allusion to the familiar ngure-four trap. Toombs writes to Stephens, March 10, "Buck will vacate all the offices, or rather when the commissions expire consider them open". *Annual Report, 1911, II. 398.*

³ As early as December 29, 1856, Buchanan had written to John Y. Mason, minister to France, "I cannot mistake the strong current of public opinion in favor of changing public functionaries, both abroad and at home, who have served a reasonable time. They say, and that too with considerable force, that if the officers under a preceding Democratic administration shall be continued by a succeeding administration of the same political character, this must necessarily destroy the party". *Works*, X. 100. (Mason was however continued at his post.)

⁴ Philip Allen, senator 1853-1859.

⁵ In an editorial in the *New York Herald* for March 23, we read, "It is said that that sarcastic old statesman W. L. Marcy, on hearing that the policy of rotation in office had been resolved upon by the new administration, dryly remarked, 'Well, they have it that I am the author of the office seeker's doctrine, that "to the victors belong the spoils"', but I certainly should never recommend the policy of pillaging my own camp'". For Taney's disapproval, see *American Historical Review*, X. 359.

⁶ Philip Clayton of Georgia, whose sister was married to a cousin of Secre-

Auditor from Genl Taylor. He became a No nothing and voted at the Charter election in Washington agt. Maury Dem and for Tower the No nothing Candidate.⁷ He is an open spoken Secessionist etc. etc. Genl P.⁸ as a kind act towards Mr. H Cobb, now Sec. of the Treasury, kept C. in during his term although Mr G. the Sec. of the Treasury⁹ urged the removal of C. One of the first appts. of Mr B——n was that of C. to be asst Sec. of the Treasury.

Thomson. Sen. of N. J.¹⁰ says he has Mr B——n's promise that the iron rule shall not be applied to his state. But what is most astounding is that the members—several of them now (17th. Mar), say that Mr B. has established no such rule, yet this very mornng he reiterated it to Gov. Thomas coll^r. of Baltimore.¹¹ That the rule is not adopted in good faith by Mr. B——n is becoming evident for there are several instances where he has applied or proposes to apply it where if it was worth any thing it should [not?] have operated. It is already turned into a sectional rule. It is already said that promised evasions of it are already contrived that are discreditable. It is said that the Coll^r at Detroit is removed for the purpose of showing a deference to it but he has been promised a better situation—and that situation has been named to him.¹² The same is said to be the case with one of the appraisers at N. Y., *White*. W. is cared for on account of intimate social relations between his family and that of Mr. B.

Judge Black, the Atty Genl [t]his day positively denies the existence of such a rule and declares that the imputation of it to Mr. B. is a manifest act of injustice. There are hundreds now in this city to whom Mr. B. has announced the rule in a most broad and emphatic manner. He did so this very day (17th Mar.) to Gov. Thomas. He certainly declared to me when I called on him that he should "*undoubtedly*" act on that rule but at the same time said that all commissions would be permitted to expire. He has also said repeatedly (not to me) that the four years term would be applied to foreign appts. by analogy, the commissions to such officers not having any limitations.

This rule has spread alarm thro the country and has done already tary Cobb, was second auditor of the treasury from 1850 to 1857, was nominated assistant secretary of the treasury March 13, confirmed the same day, resigned in December, 1860 (*cf. Annual Report, 1911, II. 523*), and became assistant secretary of the Confederate treasury.

⁷ William A. Maury, mayor of Washington 1852–1854, was in the latter year defeated by the Know-nothing candidate, John T. Towers, superintendent of printing, mayor 1854–1856.

⁸ Pierce.

⁹ James Guthrie of Kentucky, secretary of the treasury 1853–1857.

¹⁰ John R. Thomson, senator 1853–1862.

¹¹ Philip Francis Thomas, governor of Maryland 1848–1851, collector of the port of Baltimore 1853–1860, secretary of the treasury under Buchanan from December 12, 1860, to January 11, 1861.

¹² John H. Harmon had been collector of the port of Detroit since March, 1853. On March 7, 1858, Michael Shoemaker was nominated collector in his place, but Harmon received no other appointment from Buchanan—none at least of grade sufficient to bring it into the Senate journal. The Senate, it may be mentioned, adjourned March 14, 1857.

great mischief and if practically carried out will be the source of much discord in the dem ranks.

How the notion of such a rule could get into the mind of a sound thinking man is to me utterly inconceivable. It will be abandoned but not probably till it has worked much mischief and brought signal disgrace upon its Author.

Mar. 29. Went to Baltimore. Dined with Reverdy Johnson¹³ and the next day with Wilmot Johnson¹⁴ *en famille*.

Gorman¹⁵ told me that Mr. B. said he could not give the naval Office (or navy agent) to Hammond because he had promised an office to Bowen when he was electioneering in Penna.¹⁶ This was a clear admission that he disposed of the offices before his election.

Mr. B. ruled out Gwinn¹⁷ of Baltimore whose name was suggested for U. S. Dist Atty because he had canvassed this district to get a Delegate agt Mr. B. and said he [would] remember him during his term or as McLane¹⁸ stated it to me He (G.) should not have office during his term. McL. wrote to Cobb on the subject.

Mar. 19. Extract from an Editorial in Union¹⁹ this morning—reference to Conn.

To her position and the ability and talent of her sons, she is indebted for the place in the cabinet held by one of her truest, most reliable, and able statesmen. The name of Mr. Toucey was on all lips as soon as the election of Mr. Buchanan was made a fact; and while the claims of other States and other names were not overlooked nor underrated, the popular voice called for Mr. Toucey to be one of President Buchanan's constitutional advisers.

It is undoubtedly true that at an early period after the late Prest. Election public opinion pointed to Mr. T. as a fit person for a cabinet appt. yet Mr. B's mind vacilated for four months between Mr. N. Clifford and Mr. T. Predicated upon what Mr. B. said himself both were

¹³ Senator 1845-1849, 1863-1868, Attorney General 1849-1850.

¹⁴ A young business man of Baltimore, who in 1853 had married Margaret Schuyler Van Rensselaer of Albany.

¹⁵ Perhaps Arthur P. Gorman, afterward the celebrated senator, who at this time, a youth of eighteen, was either a page in the Senate or secretary to Senator Douglas.

¹⁶ Levi K. Bowen was nominated naval officer of the port of Baltimore February 23, 1838. John T. Hammond was the same day nominated collector of the port of Annapolis. There may be significance in the following sentences from a letter of Cobb to Buchanan before the election, August 14, 1856: "I am so impressed with the necessity and importance of a change in the electoral ticket of Maryland that I make another suggestion to you. I understand that there is a gentleman on the ticket by the name of Bowen (Levi K.) who will do anything you want him to do. Could you not write to him to come and see you and get him to arrange for his own place to be supplied with an old time whig?" *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report, 1911, I. 379.*

¹⁷ Charles J. M. Gwinn, son-in-law of Reverdy Johnson. Marcy had employed him in a special diplomatic mission in the latter part of his secretaryship.

¹⁸ Probably Robert M. McLane, commissioner to China in 1853-1854.

¹⁹ *The Washington Union* was the Democratic paper of the capital.

in and out of his Cabinet more than twenty times. Two days after the inauguration Mr. T. was ruled out and for the very substantial reason if it were true that he was a cold man and C. had higher social qualities. This ground of preference was assigned at [sic] late as ten O'Clock on the 5th of March but the pendulum had by *ten* O'clock next morn'g swung to the other side and Mr. T. was notified of his being selected. The course of Mr B——n in relation to T. and C. is the most remarkable instance of indecision that ever fell under my observation. Mr. B. knew them both personally; they had been in a Cabinet with him, he therefore had full means of appreciating the character of each. There was no perceptible political complication which could have embarrassed him in deciding between them. Nor was there that parity of fitness which ought to have caused one moment's hesitation.

20. Mar. Dined last night with the President; the new cabinet were present (except Genl C.)²⁰ for so large a party it was a very pleasant dinner. I there met for the first Judge Black, the Atty Genl. He made a favorable impression upon me. The other members of the C. appeared kindly disposed.

Mar 24th. In the Union of this day there is an article describing the gene[ra]l condition of Kansas, at the close of the late administration and denying the charge that Gov Geary retired from the governorship of that territory because he had not been properly supported by the late Admⁿ. Gov. G. admitted to me as he did also to Genl Pierce that he had never uttered one word of complaint—or felt one sentiment of dissatisfaction at the conduct of the late admⁿ towards him. He said he had had from it all the support that had been promised to him.²¹ In the same paper there is a noticeable article upon the tender of the Prussian Mission to Jas. C. Clay son of the late distinguished H. Clay.²² This would be well were it not for its awkward attendants. A democrat of long standing and eminent service to his party and country²³ was to be removed to make place for an *old-line whig* who, notwithstanding his efforts in the late presidential campai[g]n "*has not proven faithful to his pledges as an old line whig*". In the notice of this tender of the Prussian mission to Mr Clay Mr B——n's election is glorified as a triumph over sectionalism and *proscription*. It was certainly a triumph *over* sectionalism but so far as Mr B has opened himself, his election appears to be the triumph *of* Proscription, and proscription in its very worst form. Every issue of the Union—the one now before me—contain quite a list of democrats removed from office. It is true that they are in most instances filled by democrats but the principle upon which this policy is based is inconceivably mischievous to the party, and the object for which it has been adopted most discreditable to its author. If it

²⁰ Cass, secretary of state.

²¹ John W. Geary of Pennsylvania was governor of Kansas from September, 1856, to March 4, 1857. "We are not unaware that some alleged reports of conversations with Governor Geary have been published, which seem somewhat to conflict with his valedictory address; but this conflict may be the mere result of misunderstanding, and the address itself is the best authority." *Washington Union*, March 24, editorial.

²² James B. Clay, who had just been elected to Congress as a Democrat. The article in the *Union* is taken from the *Lexington (Ky.) Statesman*.

²³ Peter D. Vroom, ex-governor of New Jersey, envoy to Prussia 1853–1857.

was a sound principle it would operate benignly every where. Mr. B. after promulgating his policy as a general rule of action to be applied every where at once recoiled from the threatened mischief. He then declared it was to have a sectional application—a noble illustration of his election being a triumph over sectionalism—it was a rule for the north—not for the south.

Then a further qualification was made and certain regions in the north were to be exempted from its operation. Shortly after personal exceptions were admitted. Finally it turns out to be a *mode* to disguise the real motive of action. The offices were made the sport of sheer personal caprice. Mr. B. had an arrear of old debts to pay, and it would have been more manly to have paid them without attempting to throw any disguise over the mode of liquidation. Genl Cass also had quite as many of such debts as Mr. B. Mr B's were preferred and the Genl's deferred, obligation[s]. No one could well complain of this order of liquidation but it must be admitted that the Genl. is placed in an awkward Situation. Some of his most devoted friends are remorselessly stripped of office to make places for the friends of the President but Genl C. proves himself to be an easy enduring man, and as it seems selfwise, regarding his own security to that of peculiar friends. I shall be curious to learn how the acct. will foot up when it is closed.

Wash. Mar. 25th. 57. The cast of the N. Y. appts was announced yesterday. It is difficult to perceive how a worse cast could have been made. The only reappt, of Fowler,²⁴ was expected, but why he should have been spared no one can, or rather no one *will* tell. Shell²⁵ is a stupid fellow, but generally thought to be honest. He wont cheat himself but has hardly sufficient capacity to prevent others from doing so. The appearance of Geo. N. Sanders name for any office is a wonderment but for one where the opportunity and temptation for frauds is the greatest is shocking. After who [what] he caused to be published agt Mr. B. and Genl C. in the Dem. Review in '52' (in the Feby no. I think) it is surprising that either should have thought him worthy of a responsible govt.²⁶

See the Dem. Review.

Rynders for Marshall!!! It is believed that Birdsall is to be Naval Officer. Low vilany seems to be current. Man Hart—!!²⁷ What are

²⁴ Isaac V. Fowler, postmaster at New York City, afterward a defaulter.

²⁵ Augustus Schell, who for several years had been chairman of the state Democratic committee, now appointed collector of the port of New York.

²⁶ George N. Sanders was appointed navy agent at New York. He had been editing the *Democratic Review* in the interest of the Young Democracy. The articles here referred to are "Eighteen-Fifty-Two and the Presidency", especially pp. 9-12, in the January number of the *Democratic Review* (n. s., I.), "The Presidency and the Review", in the February number, pp. 182-188, and "Congress, the Presidency and the Review", March, especially pp. 207, 219-221. They reflect more on Butler and Marcy, however, than on either Buchanan or Cass. Sanders, a Kentuckian, was afterward a Confederate agent in Europe. Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1899, p. 274.

²⁷ Isaiah Rynders was appointed marshal for the southern district of New York, Ausburn Birdsall naval officer, Emmanuel B. Hart (M. C. 1851-1853) surveyor of the port.

we coming to—or rather what have we come to!! More hereafter—

(Private and confidential)

WASH. Mar. 27th 57.²⁸

My dear Sir:—I never omit a duty without having a good excuse to offer. I ought have written to you before this time but while doing so I should have omitted something else which ought to have been done. The President was with me until day before yesterday and while he was here my house was thronged by his numerous warm hearted friends anxious to pay their kind respects to him and his most excellent Lady. Nothing could have been more gratifying to me than [than] this clear manifestation of regard to Mr. and Mrs. Pierce. I venture to say no occupants of the White House ever left Washington with such deep feelings of affection from the people of this city. I do not think there is more than one man in all the Old North State that can fairly pretend to enter into competition with Genl. Pierce into [in] the art of winning hearts.

Strange things have been enacted here during the last three weeks. Pierce men are hunted down like wild beasts. If a northern or free state man holding an office was at Cincinnati and there favored the nomination of Genl. Pierce [he] is under the sentence of death to be executed at any time and at furthest at the close of his term. Office holders who attended the convention at C. and favored the nomination of Mr. Buchanan are generally shoved up stairs but those who favored Genl. P. are rudely kicked down stairs. *Know nothings* are not only better liked and better used than Pierce-men, because some of them have been appointed to respectable and responsible offices. The rule of rotation is resorted to for a purpose too bad to be openly avowed. Besides this rule, another equally wise seems to be acted on. Where there are factions in our party the offices are very generally given to minor factions. This is believed to be the case in Boston, Baltimore New York etc.

April 2d. 57. It is determined that Genl. Thomas shall be removed from his position as Asst. Secretary of State.²⁹ The manner of it should be regarded by Genl. Cass as personally offensive to him, and would not have been adopted if there had been the slightest desire to be respectful.

At first Genl. C. told Genl. T. that he was as safe in his position as the Emperor of Russia was upon his throne. But afterwards Genl. C. was discovered to be wavering, and he suggested to me that he should be obliged to get some one who could have free intercourse with the man at

²⁸ In Professor Sperry's manuscript, this letter is pasted into the diary; in the Library of Congress copy, it is marked, "Letter not finished, and with no address—probably to the Ex-Sec. of the Navy, James C. Dobbin, N. C." (secretary in the late Cabinet, 1853-1857).

²⁹ John A. Thomas, for a time chief engineer of the state of New York, was employed from April, 1853, to January, 1854, as advocate of the United States in London under the claims convention of 1853 (Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. 403), and from November 1, 1855, to April 4, 1857, was assistant secretary of state.

the W. House, and suggested Mr. Appleton.³⁰ But I had reason afterwards to suspect that was a freek which had passed off, for it was discovered that Mr. A. knew nothing about such an arrangement and was averse to it.

Yesterday Genl C. told Genl T. in presence of Mr Hunter the C C.³¹ had [that] he (Genl T.) must take charge of the heavy business of the Dept., must draw the Despatches, etc.—assigning as a reason that *he was* too old for such labor. This Genl. T. supposed, as well he might, settled his position but the next mornng Genl. C. informed the Asst. that Mr. A. was to take his place. This *had* been arranged, as it is now ascertained, at the White House and thro. Clifford without consultation or the knowledge of Genl C. Appleton dined on Sunday with Mr Buchanan and the project of displacing Thomas by Appleton was then suggested to A. He was not inclined to favor it. But it was pressed upon him and Clifford was employed to deal with Appleton on the subject. Finally Apⁿ yielded to it. Then it was opened to Genl C. but not until after he had conversed with Thomas and spoke of his taking charge of the Dept. If the Genl continues he will be called on to submit to what a high spirited man would regard as an indignity—and many of them too, and at last will be driven from his high position. Submission will not save his place no more than it will save his reputation.

April 4.³² Monypenny, the late Com^r of Indian Affairs called on me this mornng, and stated Thompson's case. His claim agt the (Menominees) is founded in fraud. The manner in which it was paid shows that the Treasury has passed into *loose hands*. The payt. was a very indiscreet act and I think the case will make some noise.

"The Buchanan Rule." Apl 6th. The stereotype reason which Mr. B. gives for his rule is that "*if Mr Van Buren had adopted the rule of rotation he would have been reelected*". I pass without remark the implication that Mr. B——n is not very stable upon the *one term* principle. The history and the logic appear to be worthy of some consideration. Mr. Van B—— did make removals,³³ not it is true in the slashing manner

³⁰ John Appleton of Maine, a cousin of Mrs. Pierce, M. C. 1851–1853, had been secretary of legation to Buchanan in London from March to November, 1855, and was assistant secretary of state from April 4, 1857, to June 8, 1860.

³¹ Chief clerk. William Hunter, who was in the service of the Department of State from 1829 to 1886, was chief clerk from 1852 to 1866.

³² In Professor Sperry's manuscript this is in another place, but it is here restored to its chronological position, which it occupies in the Library of Congress copy.

George W. Manypenny was commissioner of Indian affairs from 1853 to 1857. The claim here alluded to was that of Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, M. C. 1841–1843, 1847–1849. He had undertaken legal services for the Menominees, under a contract assigning to him one-third of what he should recover under their claim against the government. A provision for the payment, with a certain proviso, was passed in an appropriation act of March 3, 1855, but the proviso was found to be missing from the engrossed act. The matter was vigorously debated in the Senate. August 1. 4, 8, 1856; see *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1883–1890, 1901–1903, 1930–1934, and the papers in 34 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. 72* (319 pp.). Payment was finally voted. See also Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1916, II. 209–210, Cobb to Hunter.

³³ Van Buren made twenty-six removals of civil officers, Buchanan 197. Fish, in Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1899, I. 75, 81.

the business is now done—not to carry out a secret purpose too unworthy to be avowed, and therefore to be covered up under a Genl Rule adopted for a sinister end and never intended to be applied in *good faith*. But a word or two on the conclusiveness of this Presidential logic.

All dem. office holders are to be removed at the end of *four years* in order to bring the Dem. party [to the conclusion(?)] that the man who establishes this rule ought to continue in his office *Eight years*. A less profound man than Mr Buchanan would have concluded that the man who practised upon the four year rule would be likely to have it applied to himself. Mr. V B's administration was alleged to have established the "Spoils doctrine". How could Mr. B. say he erred egregiously in retaining incumbents in office. A man will talk wildly and inconsequently when he is hunting up false reasons for his conduct.

(Private and)
(Confidential)

WASH. April, 6th, 57.³⁴

My dear Sir:

As I am the last lingerer of the late administration I have presumed to suppose that a line from me would not be unacceptable. I have maintained friendly relations with Genl. Cass though he is evidently under some contrain[t] in communicating with me. I think he begins to feel what others clearly see, that his condition is not what it ought to be or what he is bound to make it if he intends to sustain his reputation with the country. He ought to have resisted the *rotatory rule* for he could not but know it was a sham in its very conception, but he sustained it and saw it applied in its first working to his long tried and most devoted friends. During former canvassers [*sic*] those who were most efficient in supporting Genl Cass and of course most effective in opposition to Mr. B——n were selected as the first victims and they think *as I know* that it was unseemly in the Genl to stand by and applaud their sacrifice. I tell you (in confidence of course) that the Genl. is not among his friends. The chief of the White House expressed strong doubts of the Genl's competence before he assigned him the S. Dept. He was prepared if not predisposed to find him incompetent and the recent arrangements show that in his own judgment this anticipation has been realized. Thomas who was regarded as "one of Marcy's legacies to the new administration" has been, as I all along supposed he would be, displaced and Appleton has taken the vacant place. It is generally supposed—the Genl himself supposes—that what is done, after the change, at the Dept. will be better received at the W. House. It is not the work, but the worker, that is to be considered in passing upon its acceptableness. The Genl's colleagues are not so coy as might be expected in chiming in with the W. House. I think the Genl's *selfconfidence* is a good deal impaired. Cardinals don't care how old the Pope is.

The appointments are better recd *ostensibly* than they deserve to be. The Cerberuses of the press are sopped,—letter-writers have access to the W. H. and some of the Dept[s]. The day for free comment has not

³⁴ This letter is pasted into the diary, with the annotation, "I wont send this letter". It is accompanied by an envelope addressed, "Hon. Robert McClelland, Detroit". McClelland had been Secretary of the Interior in Pierce's Cabinet, 1853-1857.

arrived. I know you have taken up an opinion that I am amiable, and as I think I deserve it I will not hazard the loss of it with you by fully opening my view of the state of things here. Here the late administration is a despised thing in official circles. Those who held office under it and are anxious to hold on ignore it. I meet with some shining faces but with more frowning brows. I am forbearing and merciful; I injure no man by openly claiming him as *my friend* or *the friend of the late admⁿ*. I am packing up and shall be off and as I believe with the cordial approbation of the new-comers. If they do as well as I wish they may do, they will be fortunate men.

Yours truly
W. L. MARCY.

Hon Robt McClelland.

April 9th. Met Hulseman, Austrian Minister,³⁵ in F. St., who informed me that Mr. Buchanan sent for him on the subject of his letter to the Sec. of State relative to the seizure of his servant the "poor (colored) woman".

After great labor Genl. Cass failed to make a reply to Mr. Hulseman's letter that would meet the views of Mr. Buchanan. So he (Mr. B.) got over the difficulty by getting Mr. Hulseman to withdraw his note and substitute one of a different character.

Hulseman expressed to me an opinion that Genl. Cass was to be merely *locum tenens*, and that Appleton, under the direction and supervision of Mr. Buchanan, was to manage foreign Affairs. He said Cass was too old for the duties of the Department.

April 14th. Mr. Bille, the Chargé from Denmark,³⁶ called on me this morning to pay his respects, before leaving Washington, and informed me that he had just signed the Treaty or Convention relative to the abolition of "The Sound Dues". The Convention executed was the one drafted by me, and he expressed his regret that he had not received full powers to execute the same before I left the State Department. He said no alteration was made in my Department³⁷ but a formal one in relation to the time or mode of its taking effect. I can hardly imagine that there can be a question hereafter as to whom the credit of this important measure is due. Though there had formerly been some efforts to get rid of this embarrassment to commerce, they seemed to have been abandoned before the inauguration of Genl. Pierce's administration. The subject was earnestly and perseveringly pursued by it. The administration was much abused abroad, and some at home, for embarking in this measure. The press of England was at one time very severe upon me for having taken up the subject, but when, finally, the measure was brought near a close, it frankly acknowledged that, for this great advan-

³⁵ The Chevalier Hülsemann was Austrian chargé d'affaires 1841-1855, minister resident 1855-1863. Cass's note to Hülsemann, in the case here alluded to, is in Moore's *Digest*, IV. 658-659.

³⁶ Torben Bille, chargé d'affaires (1852) 1854-1857. The convention alluded to below is that of April 11, 1857; the United States had dissociated itself from the negotiations resulting in the general Sound Dues treaty of March 14, and had made a separate convention.

³⁷ Draft?

tage to commerce, the world was indebted to the course of their transatlantic cousins etc.

April 17th. I have spent the last three days in Baltimore, staid at the house of a friend John C. Brune,³⁸ and never, at any place, had I more hearty welcome. I found a good deal of undeveloped dissatisfaction at the course of the new administration in regard to the offices. The cases of Thomas and Wharton are truly hard ones. They were good officers, and had given general satisfaction, and were both under circumstances which made their continuance very desirable to each of them.

April 18th. I had a brief interview with Genl. Cass to day, and he made a more favorable impression on me than he has at any other time. He conversed with me on the New Granadian difficulty. He told me the same as he had done in regard to the affairs with China, that they intended to occupy precisely the same ground taken by the late administration. The passage across the Isthmus at Panama will be guarded by our ships of war, not only at Aspinwall (Colon), Panama, but, if need be, along the line of the Rail Road.³⁹

The reply of the Government of New Granada to our propositions, is an offensive rejection of them. That Government declares its intention to execute the tonnage law, and the extortious assessment on the mail matter across the Isthmus. This government ought not to submit to either. But what surprised me more than any thing else was a counter demand of \$150,000 for damages on account of the riot on the 15th of April last.⁴⁰ It would seem from the course of that Government that it intends to provoke a war with the United States.

The allowance of the Thompson claim is likely to damage the administration more than a little. The defence of the act was a feeble one. It is alleged, by way of repelling the charge that it was done under improper influences, that claimant had not moved in the matter since the incoming of the present administration. Why should they have so promptly have taken up a case already overruled?—and as it was a transaction in relation to Indian affairs, why was the gentleman (Many-penny) at the head of Indian bureau passed by unconsulted or noticed in relation to it?

The Bully Brooks case [code] seems to have been transferred from the Halls of Congress to the Departments. A connection of Clayton the Asst. Sec., said to be a clerk in the Department, appointed after the transaction, knocked down George C. Herrick who wrote a letter which was published in the Herald reflecting upon the allowance of the claim to Thompson.⁴¹ This is not a way of refuting charges of official delinquency which will be likely to allay suspicion of the *bona fides* of the transaction.

The fact that the ruffian Sayer was, at the time of the outrage, a clerk in the Department, or was appointed to a clerkship the same day

³⁸ An eminent Baltimore lawyer.

³⁹ See Moore, *Digest*, III. 19-20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 34-36; *International Arbitrations*, II. 1361-1384.

⁴¹ The letter, from George R. Herrick, clerk of the Senate committee on finance, is in the *New York Herald* of April 13. It reflects on Clayton because Indian accounts had been in his province as second auditor of the treasury. The assault occurred on the 17th. *Herald*, April 18.

of the outrage, very much worsens the case, for the Sec. or his assistant. If this clerk is not removed, the Sec. and his Asst. must stand before the public as approvers of the outrage. Suspicion will carry the matter further; it will charge them as having instigated the attack upon Herrick.

My knowledge of the qualities of Mr. Buchanan's mind never allowed me to hope that he would display much skill in managing the personal affairs of the government, but he has gone beyond the limit fixed by my apprehensions, in his maladroitness.

His first step—the attempt to foist Forney upon the legislature of his State for a U. S. Senator, was a signal blunder. The bitter fruits of the mistake, following so quickly, ought to have taught him a salutary lesson.

Pennsylvania had been generous towards Mr. B.—generous to such a degree that he owed it every possible return of kindness and consideration.

No one pretends that any considerable number of its legislators thought Mr. F. a fit man to be sent into the U. S. S., and most of the democrats were offended by Mr. B's. gross attempt at dictation—a few so much so as to revolt. Hence the catastrophe. I do not justify the revolvers, but I do censure the bungling course of Mr. Buchanan. Considering his long experience, the error can properly be adduced as evidence of an original defect of character—a want of the spirit of discernment, but this trait was still more prominently developed in the adoption of his "*rotary rule*". This feature of his policy deserves a fuller comment than I have now time to bestow upon it, and a more severe rebuke than I am now willing to administer. If it was adopted, in good faith, it evinced greater weakness than I am willing to ascribe to him; but if it was adopted, as it is now generally believed, as a subterfuge, and to be used as a reason for doing acts for which the true motives would not bear the light, then it leaves a soil on his character which must be noticeable whenever that character is looked at. The real motive will be—nay now is very generally—patent.

Every democrat removed will say he has suffered under a vicious rule, generally reprobated, adopted without common sense, but partially executed, and never intended to be applied in good faith. What its effect will be upon the party, remains to be seen. That it will be mischievous no sound thinking man doubts, but the extent of the mischief remains to be disclosed.

The organization of the Cabinet, but more particularly the vacillation and sudden changes of mind in relation to certain selections, astonished every body. I confess it greatly exceeded my anticipations. I was satisfied that he wanted, in no inconsiderable degree, decision of character, but I dreaded more than this defect, the capriciousness of his judgment. He had likes and dislikes, which seemed to be causeless, or, if not entirely causeless, evinced a considerable degree of waywardness. This class of his judgments seemed to be those which he most persistently adhered to.

Mr. Buchanan, as I have heard from an authentic source, makes it a matter of complaint against me that I kept back from him the infor-

Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy '653

mation of Mr. Crampton's complicity in the enlistment business.⁴² In his suspicion on that subject he is entirely mistaken, and that he is so he might have been convinced, if he had had the fairness of bringing on an explanation on the subject. He undoubtedly supposes that we had an earlier knowledge of that fact than we had. Though Crampton was suspected of a connivance in what was going on, it was not believed that any proof of his complicity could be obtained, until a late period in the development. There was nothing disclosed against Crampton until August. This happened while I was absent from Washington, at Old Point Comfort, Virginia. I was sent for in consequence of what had come out against him. The dispatch implicating him was written shortly after my return, but by reason of the President's absence at the Virginia Springs, it was not agreed on and sent to Mr. C. until the 5th of September; but before that date I had informed Mr. Buchanan, by a private letter, that C. was implicated. My private letters will show that fact. I do not recollect the date of my letters on the subject, but it was previous to the despatch to C. of the 5th of Sept. and a copy of that despatch was at once forwarded to Mr. Buchanan.

⁴² John F. T. Crampton was British minister from 1852 to May 28, 1856, when he was dismissed by the United States government on the ground that he had taken part in violations of the neutrality of the United States through British enlistments. Moore, *Digest*, IV. 533-535.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

How the World Votes: the Story of Democratic Development in Elections. In two volumes. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, Professor of History in Yale University, and DONALD PAIGE FRARY, Instructor in History in Yale College. (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 406; xi, 355. \$6.50.)

THIS is a praiseworthy and successful attempt to present in a single work the history and the present development of electoral systems, the world over. The first volume opens with a discussion of the several theories of the suffrage from the most ancient times, followed by a sketch of the crude systems of semi-popular government in the Middle Ages. The origin and development of parliamentary government in England down to and including the Reform Act of 1918; the extension of it to the colonies; the adaptations and modifications of English methods in the American colonies, leading up to a full consideration of the present electoral systems in the United States; and the history of suffrage in France, complete the volume.

The second volume takes up the systems of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Spain, the Balkans, Turkey, South America, and Japan. It is partly historical, with a mass of detailed information showing to what extent the people in those countries rule and the machinery employed to enable them to express their will.

The result is a comprehensive and most useful book of reference, compact, well-written, and covering the subject in a satisfactory manner. By far the largest part of the work is information simply, which has been drawn from various sources and compiled with great industry. The ordinary reader will find matter of interest in many descriptions of systems of voting quite unlike anything known in this country—the plural votes in Belgium (discarded in the new constitution); the indirect elections in Germany under the Empire; proportional representation in Denmark. Those who were puzzled to understand by what device each electoral district in Germany, choosing seven to a dozen members, distributed its choice between five or six parties, when electing members of the congress at Weimar, will find the answer in the lucid explanation of the manner in which the result of *scrutin de liste* is worked out (I. 385). It is there described to illustrate an election in France, where the system has been several times adopted and abandoned. It has just, April, 1919, been reintroduced in that country. It was originally, the present writer believes, an invention of the Swiss.

In treating of elections and voting in the United States the authors have deviated from their general plan, and have entered the field of politics—not, however, partizan politics. They take pains, for example, to give what seem to them to be reasons for regarding the direct primary as a great improvement on the convention, not only in theory but in result, on which there is room for wide divergence of opinion. Their argument includes a fancy sketch of the proceedings of a nominating convention absolutely dominated by a boss. No doubt there were many such conventions, but they were not typical of all, and the generalization is misleading. Moreover there are serious defects in the present primary system that are not mentioned. Under it many a weak or objectionable candidate has slipped through by a narrow plurality, when there were many competitors for the nomination, who would have been eliminated after the first ballot in a convention requiring a majority to effect a nomination.

In one or two other passages the authors have introduced their personal opinions on controverted points in American practice, which seem out of place in a work which is otherwise one of information and not of political propaganda. There is a statement on page 286, volume I., about a former mayor of Boston that should be amended. Between the offense and its punishment and his election as mayor there was a long interval during which he was both an alderman and a congressman.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Folk-Lore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend, and Law. In three volumes. By Sir JAMES GEORGE FRAZER, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York and London: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xxv, 569; xxi, 571; xviii, 566. \$15.00.)

SOME one said of the great Arabic scholar, the late Professor De Goeje of Leyden,—that he published as much as an entire academy. Sir James George Frazer's productivity is even more remarkable, and it might be said that he has written an entire library. His *magnum opus*, *The Golden Bough*, growing from two volumes in the first edition to twelve volumes in the third with an additional index volume, is the most extensive collection of illustrations of popular customs, beliefs, and rites in all parts of the world, primitive, ancient, and modern, that has ever been gathered together by any scholar or by any group of scholars. The book marked a new era in the comparative study of religious beliefs and practices. The production of such a work alone would have consumed the entire career of an ordinary scholar; but Sir James Frazer is of the extraordinary type, and so we have in addition from his pen a four-volume work on totemism and exogamy, a six-volume edition of Pausanias with elaborate and most constructive notes, a volume on *The Early History of Kingship*, another on *The Belief in Immortality*

(with a second still to come), besides minor writings which in the case of an ordinary scholar would be classified as major. Mr. Frazer now sets before us a most elaborate investigation on folk-lore in the Old Testament, in three large volumes, which will take its place as an indispensable reference-work on the table of every student of the Bible. The work, however, makes a still wider appeal, and, being written with Sir James's charm of style, should attract the attention of all intelligent readers whose tastes pass beyond the popular novel and the literary essay. The three volumes also contain much material of value to the general student of history and more particularly to the one interested in the unfolding of custom into law and of that somewhat indefinite field which the Germans call *Kulturgeschichte*.

That the Old Testament is full of folk-lore has, of course, been recognized for a long while by scholars, and some of the material found in the book of Genesis and in some books of a more historical character like Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, in which historical or quasi-historical traditions are blended with legend and popular fancies, has at various times engaged the attention of students, among whom should be mentioned the late Joseph Jacobs who was one of the pioneers in the study of folk-lore in the Old Testament. No one, however, has hitherto attempted to cover the entire large field. This was left to Frazer, who indeed, it may be added, without disparagement to others, is the only scholar living who could have attempted such a Herculean task. Even as it is there are some omissions; as for example, there is no investigation of the rite of the "red heifer" (in Numbers xix.) nor of the "burning bush" (in the book of Exodus), while of the various incidents in the legend of Samson only one is treated. The field is in fact inexhaustible.

The author arranges his material in four parts: (1) The Early Ages of the World, devoted in large part to the Biblical flood story, but including also the creation tale, the story of the fall, the mark of Cain, and the tower of Babel; (2) the Patriarchal Age, dealing with the covenant with Abraham, and for the larger part taken up with elaborate investigation of ultimogeniture throughout the primitive and ancient world; (3) the Time of the Judges and Kings, dealing with miscellaneous aspects of folk-lore, such as sacred trees, high places, and the significance of the threshold; (4) the Law, marked by a most suggestive and impressive investigation on the place of the law in Jewish history and followed by specific laws containing folk-lore elements, as the prohibition against seething a kid in its mother's milk, the custom of boring a servant's ear, cuttings for the dead, the ordeal, the ox-goring, and the golden bells.

It is difficult in such a mass of material to make a selection as an illustration of Sir James Frazer's method of investigation, which may be briefly defined as a picturesque and lucid summary of the Old Testament passages furnishing the particular custom or rite to be investigated,

followed by a mass of illustrations of similar rites and customs from all parts of the world, after which, on the basis of this illustrative material, a conclusion as to the significance of the rite or custom is set forth. One's judgment, therefore, in regard to the value of Frazer's work depends upon one's attitude towards his method. In some cases it may seem that the analogies brought forward by him are somewhat far-fetched, but in most cases it is just the enormous heaping of illustrations that strengthens our confidence in his conclusions. So, for example, in one of the most valuable chapters of the work, is taken up the curious rite of seething the kid in its mother's milk. It is perfectly clear, after sifting the overwhelming evidence brought before us of the curious belief among primitive peoples that whatever is done to the milk also affects the cow from which it is drawn, that the prohibition rests on the fear lest the boiling of the milk may in some way affect the udder of the cow. Strange as this may seem at first sight, one's skepticism diminishes with each succeeding page as one scans the accumulated evidence of the many peculiar precautions taken in regard to milk among pastoral peoples throughout the world, ranging from prohibition among some against boiling milk at all, to special regulations affecting those to whom the task of milking and attending to the cows was delegated.

Students of the early history of law will be particularly interested in the most complete collection for traces of ultimogeniture that has yet been made and which covers a greater part of the second volume. Sir James shows conclusively that most of the marriage regulations among primitive and ancient peoples rest ultimately upon economic conditions which in most cases brought it about that the older sons separated more or less definitely from close relations with the father and that the younger sons were thus in a position in which they would be more likely to benefit by the advantages of inheritance. The ramifications produced by such economic conditions are endless, and while some of the conclusions reached by the author, as, for example, what he says in connection with what he calls the "sororate" (to designate marriages with the wife's sister in the lifetime of the first wife or after her death), may be open to the objection that our author fails to take into account other conditions that might have produced the same result, yet on the whole this investigation of the entire basis upon which marriage regulations between relatives rests represents such a striking advance on previous attempts that we ought not to cavil at deficiencies in the argument here and there. A point of special importance is the proof furnished by the author that the current view of the origin of *jus primae noctis*, which assumes that this gave the right to the lord of the tenant over the female dependents about to enter the marriage state, is entirely incorrect. It was not the lord of the tenant who enjoyed the privilege of the first night, but the husband who bought that *jus* or right from the lord as a device to prevent the demons from interfering with the enjoyment of the young couple. Here again one must read consecutively the

evidence from many quarters, which Frazer produces, to show the precautions that a young married couple had to exercise, sometimes for days, sometimes for weeks and even months, before they could cohabit without danger of an attack from the demons.

Naturally, not all parts of the voluminous work have the same interest of novelty. So, for example, Sir James has comparatively little that is new to say in regard to the creation story, and in fact it is a little disappointing to find him contenting himself with giving parallels to certain portions of the tale without entering into the larger question of the manner and conditions under which the remarkable story—especially the Jahwistic account in Genesis ii.—took final shape. A similar criticism might be passed on the investigation of the flood story which is valuable chiefly for the immense collection of flood stories from all parts of the world, brought together with an expenditure of enormous labor and patience, and which is in itself an exhaustive treatise on the subject. Interested in the collection of flood stories, Frazer pays comparatively little attention to the *details* of the Biblical tale, which from the point of view of folk-lore are really more interesting than the tale as a whole. A striking feature of many of the tales in the early chapters of Genesis, which ought not to be overlooked in an investigation, is the combination of pure folk-tales showing traces of very primitive ideas with remarkably advanced and on the whole rather pessimistic speculations regarding the nature and ambitions of man.

Sir James Frazer writes evidently *con amore*. He is always absorbed by his topic, whether it is a description of the evolution of law among the Hebrews—one of the most eloquent sections of the book—or an account of oaks and terebinths of Palestine. Writing, for him, must be a pleasure, or he could not have the patience to give us so many striking descriptions of scenery of Greece, Palestine, and other countries incidental to his subject. His charming style and the heights of eloquence which he so often reaches add largely to the fascination of his work. Indeed, without his pleasing and graceful manner of presenting the topic, the ordinary reader would grow weary of wading through pages upon pages of illustrative material. Under his deft pen, even repetitions are free from dullness. Gifted also with a keen sense of humor, our author does not hesitate to deviate occasionally from his subject in order to introduce a story that is amusing as well as a folk-tale, and his little gentle knocks at some of the opponents of critical study of the Bible are all the more effective because of their half-concealed satirical implications. Sometimes, to be sure, his love of Biblical tales, many of which are of such irresistible charm, prompts him to tell them in a manner which might convey to the ordinary reader the impression that he is accepting Biblical tradition at its face value. So, for example, he conjures up pictures of domestic scenes in Jacob's family which might, if one encountered them in a Sunday-school book, provoke a smile. As a literary artist of high calibre, it is perhaps natural, under

the circumstances, that Sir James Frazer occasionally succumbs to the temptation of giving us an interesting picture, even at the risk of creating an erroneous impression in the minds of readers who do not know how sharp his critical acumen is when he chooses to exercise it.

Taken as a whole, Sir James Frazer's latest work is to be put down as one of the most important contributions made in the field of Biblical studies. The work will prove a stimulus for further investigations, and it will retain its position for all times as the most comprehensive and most authoritative collection of material bearing on the folk-lore of the Old Testament. Supplements to the work will no doubt be made to it from time to time by others—we hope by Sir James himself—but the world will probably never produce another Frazer, able to cover the entire vast field, with the sure touch of the master throughout.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Gothic History of Jordanes. In English Version with an Introduction and a Commentary by CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW, Ph.D. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. 188. \$1.75.)

THE work of which the present is an inexcusably belated review concerns the historical student because it offers an English version of an historical source not previously translated, except in the form of a thesis by the same writer presented for the doctorate at Princeton in 1908. The present work is a revision of that translation, omitting the Latin text, and fortified with an historical introduction and a commentary.

The work issues, therefore, from the classical rather than from the historical graduate seminary. In its present form, however, it appears to be addressed chiefly to the historical student. The introduction of fifty pages is devoted to matters bearing on the value of the text as an historical source: the qualifications of its author, the conditions under which he wrote, the sources which he may have used, together with a chronological table, and a genealogy of the Gothic kings of the Amal stem; while only two pages are given to the Latinity of the author. Similarly the forty-five pages of commentary contain chiefly identifications of the passages in the authorities cited by Jordanes and explanations of geographical allusions in terms of modern geography; it is burdened very little with textual or other strictly linguistic elucidations.

The volume belongs, therefore, to that still scanty and slowly increasing body of medieval historical sources rendered into English. This material is of very real and practical value for the historical profession, since it offers an opportunity to give a first-hand impression of the Middle Ages to historical and other students who are not primarily

interested in that period, and who are therefore not prepared to struggle through the pages of a Late Latin text. Such works are very few, and any addition to them is exceedingly welcome.

These works stand midway between the labored scholarship of editing a manuscript, on the one hand, and the text-book work of compiling a source-book for school use, on the other. They must be judged by this fact, and it is not disparaging to the present work to note that it takes its apparatus direct from Mommsen's great edition of Jordanes, in the *Monumenta*. The information in the introduction is most of it to be found in the elaborate study prefaced to Mommsen's text, and the citations in the commentary from authors' referred to by Jordanes are most of them to be found in Mommsen's foot-notes to the text. Lest this should seem invidious, it must be said that Professor Mierow acknowledges his indebtedness, that it would be difficult gleaning any-way after Mommsen had passed over the ground, that the writer seems to have canvassed pretty thoroughly the periodical literature since Mommsen, for corrections, criticisms, and additions, and that the results of this labor appear in the introduction and commentary. Moreover, the commentary includes a great deal of information gathered from standard authorities on place-names, tribal names, and other obscurities of the text.

It may not be out of place to recall briefly the significance of Jordanes. This Romanized, Christianized Goth wrote a condensation of a history of the Goths by Cassiodorus; the total disappearance of the original work gave an unmerited value to the uncritical and badly written abbreviation. We have no sure means of knowing how much Jordanes contributed of his own knowledge or from his own researches, but the amount is generally agreed to be very little. Even allowing for the fact that his work represents Cassiodorus, it is of limited value as an historical source, for the history of the period for which it is an authority—say 400 to 550 A.D.—is much more accurately and fully preserved in other writers, such as Procopius. Jordanes is the sole authority for some things of importance, such as the battle of the Catalaunian Fields; and his account of the early history of the Goths may contain some genuine traditions. The chief interest is found, however, in its revelation of that curious cultural age transitional between classical and mediæval, which we call patristic, and of that curious type, the man of barbarian race only two or three generations from tribal life and wearing the habits of Christian classical society. E. H. M.

A Short History of France, from Caesar's Invasion to the Battle of Waterloo. By MARY DUCLAUX (A. Mary F. Robinson). (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. ix, 345. \$2.50.)

ANY one who intends or aspires to write a short history of a large and complex subject might well take this book as his consummate model,

for Madame Duclaux knows the secret of that art as do few, if any, writers of to-day. Here within a compass of less than 350 pages we have a history of nineteen centuries told with abounding and varied knowledge, with penetrating and subtle judgment, and with remarkable literary power and charm. Every page of this book tingles with life. Every chapter is a gem of historical narration. The details of the composition and the picture as a whole are drawn and painted with delicacy, precision, and firmness of line, with mastery of coloring, with a dramatic sense that is never absent and that never loses its self-control, with rare psychological and spiritual insight and understanding. This history is not only studded with delightful vignettes of a large number of striking historical figures, is not only filled with brief but breathing incidents, but it is instinct with the genius of the French people, and it leaves with the reader the sense of the scope and sweep of French history.

Here is a characterization of Louis XI.:

To the average English playgoer, Louis XI. is a personage of a grisly yet comic odiousness, something like a French Hunchback-Richard. But to the student of history this unamiable individual appears as a great king, the precursor of modern royalty; in fact, one of the monarchs that France could least have spared. An ungrateful and rebellious son, a neglectful, indeed a cruel husband to that unhappy poetess, Margaret of Scotland; a false friend, a treacherous guest, a hypocrite, an egoist, a hypochondriac, and a miser; and with no grace of mind or person to carry off and compensate so many disadvantages (for this great prince was, to look at, the merest lout, with shabby clothes all wrinkled round his crook-kneed spindle legs, and a battered slouch hat throwing a friendly shadow on his long, coarse nose), still Louis XI. was a person of parts and a man of power. He was patient and wise, and knew how to draw the maximum profit from every disagreeable experience. As heir to the throne he had been the friend of the feudal nobles, and had raised more than one revolt against the centralizing government of his father, Charles VII. But when his time came to reign, he turned his coat with a vengeance, and so much so that his outraged associates of yesterday, incensed by his cynical apostasy, banded themselves together in an alliance oddly misnamed the League of Public Weal; but in the end Louis got the better of them all. The Universal Spider spread his web . . . and in his tangle of wars, treaties, matches and marriage contracts, last wills and testaments, contracts and bargains, he caught all the glittering flies of French feudality and sucked them dry (pp. 104-105).

Madame Duclaux, long admired as an English poet and essayist, has for many years been intimately associated with French life and letters. She explains in her preface her motive in writing this history. "I have written this little book, having in my mind's eye neither school boys nor historians, though I should indeed be proud if one and the other gave it their approval; but I had in view the class of cultivated and ignorant men and women to which I myself belong, and meant to offer them such

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXIV.—44.

a book as I wish some one would write for me about Russia or Rumania or Serbia or even the United States."

Madame Duclaux wrote this book as her particular form of war-work and "out of love and infinite respect for her two countries, the two great countries of Europe". She wears her learning lightly; but he would be an indurated and purblind pedant who should fail to see the wide knowledge, the rich cultivation, the critical competence, and the literary talent which have gone into the making of this volume.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Alfred the Great, the Truth Teller, Maker of England, 848-899.

By BEATRICE A. LEES, sometime Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. [Heroes of the Nations.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. xv, 493. \$1.90.)

MISS LEES's biography of Alfred the Great, first published in 1915, has recently (1919) been reissued as a volume in the *Heroes of the Nations* series, for which the work seems to have been originally intended. That a biographical study of the career that "saved England for the English" deserves a prominent place in such a series is beyond dispute. Unfortunately, however, the materials for such a study are scanty and unsatisfactory. Miss Lees has, therefore, construed her task somewhat broadly; she has written a history of Wessex and the adjacent parts of England in the second half of the ninth century. In the first two chapters she discusses the state of Europe and England in the days before Alfred. Three important chapters describe the Alfredian state, the social life of the time, and its notable achievements in art and literature. The work closes with a discussion of the Myth of King Alfred. The remaining six chapters, comprising less than half of the volume, deal more directly with the personal life of the great king.

Without question this biography is the best account of Alfred's reign that has thus far appeared. The available literary sources seem to have been studied with intelligent care, and the author has given due recognition to the interpretations of other scholars who have explored her field, such as Chadwick, Plummer, Steenstrup, Stevenson, and others. By a close study of topographical facts and philological evidence Miss Lees has found it possible to determine quite definitely the course of the Danish invasions of southern England in the ninth century and to locate certain battle-fields, the sites of which have been in dispute; *Aclea* she identifies with Ockley (Surrey) and *Ethandune* with Edington (Wilts). She places the year of Alfred's birth at 848 and his death at 899. She holds that he was accepted as overlord by the Welsh and would like to claim a similar honor for him in the Danelaw (pp. 393, 397). Miss Lees does not regard the king's experiment with a navy as wholly successful, but she finds that there are "signs of an organized system of fortification in Wessex and English Mercia in 893", which she is in-

clined to attribute to King Alfred. Her argument that the *fyrð* had an important nucleus of professional warriors and that military service, once a personal duty, had been "modified by a gradual territorialization", is interesting but not wholly conclusive. The author is inclined to doubt the story that King Alfred sent a mission to India; but she calls attention to the fact that India in the Middle Ages was a very broad term, and that the shrine of St. Thomas, to which the English king is said to have promised alms, was not in Hindustan but in Edessa.

The most prominent fact of Alfred's career—his long struggle with the Danes—the author has studied to the last detail. She views the invasions as a part of the great viking attack on Western Europe, and by tracing the fortunes of this movement in the Frankish lands she is able to account for its successes and failures in England. A few maps would have added greatly to the reader's appreciation of this part of the work; Miss Lees has included only two and neither of these is very helpful. The volume also suffers from a poverty of foot-notes. Miss Lees does occasionally cite her authorities but not nearly so often as one would wish or expect.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Handboek tot de Staatskundige Geschiedenis van Nederland. Door I. H. GOSSES en N. JAPIKSE. [Nijhoff's Handboeken.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1918. Pp. cxxviii+, 524. Guld. 8.50.)

It is difficult to touch the history of Holland without inconsistencies in terminology, so various has been the past and so indeterminate the names applied to the land under successive political aspects. The authors of this handbook acknowledge, at the outset, that their survey begins *before* the beginning. Taking the existing kingdom of Holland in its present territorial extent, its unified administrative existence is certainly a late growth. Yet here Professor Gosses opens his section of the early narrative at 56 B.C., planning to carry it down to the year 1568, at which date Dr. Japikse starts in with his story of the development of the modern state, although that, too, was only present in potentialities. The outbreak of Dutch rebellion against Spanish domination is made a point of departure for the section of the work now brought to completion. The earlier part, that of Professor Gosses, the part whose pages are numbered with Roman numerals, is still unfinished. Dr. Japikse's narrative is contained in parts I.-IV. He presents a clear, well-told outline of the political changes through which the government has passed, down to the crucial year of 1914. There is no diversion into things social, economic, or literary, although the well-selected bibliographical lists contain matter that expands, naturally, into all those phases. Yet narrowed as it is in scope the outline is by no means a dry skeleton of itemized facts. Dr. Japikse has improved wonderfully in

style since writing his first book. That discussion of the complications between England and the Dutch Republic, 1660-1665, was fatiguing reading although a notable contribution to sixteenth-century diplomatic history. There has certainly been a marked gain in facility of expression, as well as in the authoritative attitude that comes from ripe work such as that to which Dr. Japikse has devoted himself. In this outline, it is easy to see where his own opinions are; and there are charming little phrases here and there serving to illuminate effectively the text, as where he makes the distinction between standing within a window and leaning far out of it to get a wider view—to illustrate the respective points of view of national and provincial history.

The parts covering 1568-1815 do not exhibit any very original matter nor attitude of mind, although useful in bibliographical suggestions. Far more valuable are the pages devoted to 1815-1914, together with the literature and documents listed. They form an eminently convenient survey of Dutch parties and international relations from the point of view of a modern liberal scholar. Nor is the outline devoid of color. Dr. Japikse's characterization of William I. in the difficulties of launching and stabilizing the kingdom made at Vienna, is fair and by no means over-laudatory of Holland's first sovereign from the House of Nassau. Perhaps he is rather too lenient in regard to the fashion in which the constitution was forced down Belgian throats by the disfranchising of its opponents, and he is not sympathetic to Belgian difficulties. Perhaps that is inevitable at a moment when redress for disadvantages then—1839—accepted seems unjustifiable to any Hollander. The summary of the separation of Holland and Belgium is not given without the writer's own opinion escaping from the skeleton of facts. He considers that the cleft was inevitable from the inherent incompatibility of the two units, and that Holland profited by the division even though that kingdom emerged from conflict as a little power—*kleine mogendheid*.

His discussion of political parties and international relations as they have prevailed down to the outbreak of war is distinctly valuable, as the character of Dutch party division is not easy to grasp, so different are the conditions from those prevailing here or in England. Now that proportional representation has been introduced, the existence of these many factions becomes of new importance in legislative measures. Here, too, the bibliography is very serviceable.

It may be added that the handbook is in a series of other handbooks planned by the publishers, and thus is open to the faults of such series where the work is not done *con amore*. But nevertheless this particular handbook is to be recommended.

Luxemburg and Her Neighbors, a Record of the Political Fortunes of the Present Grand Duchy from the Eve of the French Revolution to the Great War, with a Preliminary Sketch of Events from 963 to 1780. By RUTH PUTNAM. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. xiv, 484. \$2.50.)

THIS volume falls into that class of historical works designed to popularize for American readers the story of the peoples of the problem-areas raised by the war. As such it is very much above the ordinary book of this class, for it reveals throughout the author's special knowledge of the history of this much disputed border-land between Latin and Teuton. Indeed, the interest in the history of Burgundy and of the Netherlands is at times a little too evident, for it leads off into by-paths, interesting enough in themselves, but not essential in their detail to the story of Luxemburg proper. In a measure this is excusable, because "the little forest canton" was never permitted to live its own life. It was successively associated first with one, then with another of its neighbors. Its history is, says the author, "a record of compacts and treaties made for, and never by Luxemburg". Fortunately her writing of it is better than her theory, for she devotes at least one strong chapter to the life of the people, and occasionally throughout the rest of the work there are good passages relating to the economic and social life, that tend to lift the story out of the domain of international relations pure and simple.

The main part of the volume is in two divisions. The first is devoted to a survey of Eight Centuries of Luxemburg History from 936 to 1780. The second deals with the period from the French Revolution to the Great War. The story is told in a spirited and interesting manner. It carries the reader rapidly over the early settlement and the first overlords, through the successive periods of Luxemburg history in which are reflected in miniature so many of the larger historical movements of Western Europe. Thus we pass from the creation of the duchy and the Luxemburg emperors through the rule of the House of Burgundy, the transfer to the House of Hapsburg, the fate of the duchy in the conflict between Hapsburg and Bourbon, its vicissitudes under French domination, its erection into a grand duchy of the Germanic Confederation under the King of the Netherlands by the Congress of Vienna, its rôle in the efforts of Napoleon III. to secure compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia, and the neutralization of the duchy in 1867, to its violation by Germany in August of 1914.

There is an occasional slip in the proof-reading, as for example the addition by Prussia of forty-one and a half millions to her population (p. 332), and some peculiarities of expression, like "the general forlornity of existence" and the use of "Charles Quint" for Charles V. The notes, which are often very suggestive, are judiciously brought in at the end, along with a summary of the treaties and conventions and an

extended list of books consulted. No estimate of their value is offered, save in a very few cases. In one of these the commendation of the faulty and wretchedly edited *Archives Parlementaires* as "very admirable and useful" is far from scholarly. The illustrations are well chosen; they really illustrate, though the tendency is rather antiquarian.

The last chapter deals with the fate of the duchy during the war, and the different proposals as to its future status. That the independence of a state of less than one thousand square miles and 259,891 inhabitants should be continued, even in these days of self-determination, is very doubtful, especially when "in economic relations, in facility of transportation and communication, Luxemburg is bound hand and foot".

Geschichte der Ukraine. Teil I. Von MICHAEL HRUSCHEWSKYJ, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität in Lemberg. (Lemberg: "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine". 1916. Pp. viii, 224.)

THIS German edition is a translation of Professor Grushevski's Russian book *Ocherk Istorii Ukrainskovo Naroda* (Petrograd, 1911). This volume I. of the German work traces the history of the Ukrainians—their political, economic, social, and cultural development—from the ninth to the seventeenth century. Chapters I. and II. discuss the present home of the Ukrainians, their past and present ethnographic frontiers in Russia, Austria, and Hungary, their distinct culture, their peculiar language, their national aspirations; chapters III. to XIII. deal with historical questions.

Professor Grushevski is an eminent historian and an ardent Ukrainian nationalist who played a prominent part in Ukrainian affairs during the summer and autumn of 1917. He writes history from the point of view of a Ukrainian nationalist and the reader must always keep that in mind. He proves to his own satisfaction that the Ukrainians are a people different from their neighbors, the Great Russians, that the Ukrainians have had, more or less always, a national consciousness and democratic ideal of government which they have failed to realize on account of the oppression of Poland and Russia (Moscow). It is against this reading into history and this interpretation of historical facts that the reader should be on his guard. On the whole Professor Grushevski is a scholarly historian; he sometimes misinterprets but he seldom distorts the facts. After reading his books one may end by differing with him but still respecting him.

Unfortunately for Professor Grushevski and his book, it fell into the hands of the "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine", an organization formed at the outbreak of the war by Austria and later taken over by Germany for the purpose of pulling the Ukraine away from Russia and stirring up hatred between the Ukrainians and the Great Russians and Poles. Thanks to the Bund this object was almost realized in 1917-1918.

In the work of Professor Grushevski the Bund saw a splendid instru-

ment for its propaganda. On the plea that it was championing the cause of the oppressed Ukrainian nationality, the Bund searched the works of honest Ukrainian scholars and took such portions as suited its purpose and published them in different parts of Europe. In some cases it assumed an editorial right to make changes and improvements, "an mehreren Stellen, insbesondere in den ersten Kapiteln umgearbeitet". It is in these *ersten Kapiteln* that the propaganda work is done. It is there that we are told that "unparteiische Philologen" recognize the Ukrainian speech as a distinct language and not a dialect. At the present time philologists are no more agreed on this question than they were a century ago or they will be a century hence. Authorities of international reputation, such as Niederle, Shafarik, and Shakhmatov insist that it is a dialect and not a language, while Schleicher, Miklosich, and Jagić take the opposite view. Equally misleading and inaccurate is the statement that "Noch in ihrer Urheimat" there existed physical and temperamental differences of importance between the Great Russians, White Russians, and Little Russians (Ukrainians), and that in the course of the centuries these differences have become more accentuated until now "Zweifelloos haben wir es hier mit zwei Nationalitäten und zwei besonderen Geschichten zu tun". To be sure there were differences then and there are differences now between the Great Russians and Little Russians; but according to Ripley (*Races of Europe*) the differences between the various types of Russians are less than among the Italians, Germans, and French who live in the north and in the south. Other such misstatements could be pointed out but it is hardly necessary to do so. Enough has been said to show that the historians must either keep altogether away from, or use with great care, books that are edited and translated by the "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine", in whatever language published; and it has published in all the important languages and in all the important countries.

F. A. GOLDER.

Alsace-Lorraine, Past, Present, and Future. By COLEMAN PHILLIPSON. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1918. Pp. 327. \$8.00.)

It may be said at once that the sections of this volume dealing with the past of Alsace-Lorraine, though of no exceptional merit, are superior to those devoted to the present. The author shows well enough how the famous "question" arose. He gives a brief outline of the history of the provinces down to the Franco-Prussian War and then devotes about a hundred pages to the annexation of 1871, to the protests against the annexation, to the various grounds assigned by the Germans for the famous act, historical, racial, linguistic, strategic, and to the various utterances and proposals of German statesmen and writers as to what should be done with the provinces now acquired. There is a brief and superficial chapter on the German régime in Alsace-Lorraine since 1871.

The remainder of the volume, which is about half of it, is devoted to what the author considers the views and aspirations of Alsace-Lorraine, of France in regard to Alsace-Lorraine, and to the various solutions suggested of the ever-present and troublesome problem, such as reannexation to France, autonomy within the German Empire, erection into an independent state, or partition between the two states most persistently interested. This part of the book is, in the opinion of the reviewer, as inferior in quality and as unsound, in many respects, as the first part is, on the whole, respectable. It is dominated by certain conceptions poorly supported by the evidence, if supported at all, and abounds in extreme and hazardous statements which have been quickly belied by events. Indeed, although this book appeared only in the spring or early summer of 1918, it is, apart from the purely historical sections, in considerable measure already obsolete.

The author says in his preface that he has done his best to preserve throughout an attitude of judicial impartiality and declares that "it is ever the wisest policy to follow this principle, even if it involves giving the devil his due". In the opinion of the reviewer he gives the devil a great deal more than his due and considerably more than he is destined to receive.

While Mr. Phillipson condemns Germany's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871, denying the validity of most of the arguments given by the Germans for that act, yet he apparently would not after all these years right the wrong then committed.

The Germans [he says, with an exaggeration of language unusual in a barrister-at-law] are just as determined to hold Alsace-Lorraine as they are to hold Berlin. To overcome this determination by force of arms will mean to break the Central Empires into fragments and to annihilate the Germanic population. To achieve such a result would necessitate such unspeakably appalling slaughter, destruction, and sacrifice on all sides as would leave Europe a shambles and without any population at all. Is the result worth the cost? Only an unreasoning fanatic would answer this question in the affirmative (p. 236).

Even if it were possible, without this assuredly excessive cost, namely the extinction of the entire population of Europe, the author would not approve.

There can be no doubt [he says] that a forcible retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine to France cannot be a true solution; for a true solution necessitates an amicable accommodation and voluntary agreement of the parties concerned. . . . If, by reason of a decisive defeat, Germany felt constrained to abandon the territory, her resulting grievance would be a far greater menace to the peace of Europe than the grievance of France proved to be after 1871; a society or partnership of nations together with disarmament agreements could not then possibly be established; the existence of a festering sore in the very heart of Europe would render impossible frank and healthful international relationships, and would perpetuate those sinister shadows, suspicions, and fears which it is the business of a salutary régime to remove and prevent.

And, again, he says that the return of the provinces to France would mean, of course, the restoration of the former boundary between France and Germany—"a defective boundary that proved such a stumbling-block to the two nations and was more than anything else responsible for the outbreak of the war of 1870"—would mean, in short, the restoration of "an untenable line of demarcation between the two countries".

These are examples of the facile and confident assertions in which this book abounds. It would be most interesting to have some proof for the statement that a defective boundary was the chief cause of the Franco-Prussian War. Moreover why is the Rhine boundary any more untenable than any other? Any boundary is untenable if you haven't the force to protect it, and any boundary is tenable if you have. The Rhine proved no more untenable in 1870 than the Vosges in our own day. There have been times when Alps and Pyrenees and even the English Channel have proved tenable boundaries, and times when they have not.

Mr. Phillipson believes that if any change is to occur in the status of Alsace-Lorraine it must be only as a result of a plebiscite. He also believes in a negotiated peace, a peace without victory:

The best way to ascertain the sense of the population is by asking, without threats or pressure, each citizen to express his true sentiments and wishes; and the best time and circumstances in which to ascertain this is not when one or other alliance of belligerents is being worsted or has been vanquished, but when neither side can properly claim an outstanding victory, and when the terms of peace can be arranged by negotiation and compromise instead of being dictated at the point of the bayonet by a victorious belligerent (pp. 212-213).

Well! the world is spinning down a different groove and many of the author's suggestions have already been cast up on the bank and shoal of time, never to be tested as hoped.

The most curious and tantalizing thing about this book is why it should cost eight dollars.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

The Epistles of Erasmus from his Earliest Letters to his Fifty-third Year. By FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS. Volume III. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1918. Pp. xviii, 472. \$6.50.)

AFTER an interval of fourteen years the third volume of Dr. Nichols's translations from the Erasmus correspondence makes its appearance. The first volume came out in 1901, the second in 1904, and the material for the present one was practically completed in 1908.¹ The translator was then eighty-two years of age and conscious of failing powers, but

¹ See this *Review*, VII. 548; X. 686.

his life-long habit of painstaking accuracy would not allow him to put his work out of hand, and he died in 1915 leaving the manuscript very much as it was when he wrote his preface in 1908.

This volume appears with a short introduction by Mr. Percy Stafford Allen, whose edition of the letters in the original has accompanied the work of Dr. Nichols *pari passu*, his third volume (1913) including the correspondence down to June, 1519, while the translations close with the end of 1518. The account of the relations between editor and translator given by Mr. Allen is particularly appealing to all who cherish the amenities and abhor the pedantries of literature.

The general plan of the former volumes is carried on here. No attempt at completeness is made, some letters are simply referred to, parts of others are omitted, and preference in space is given to such as tend to illustrate most fully the personality of the writer. The period covered begins, according to Dr. Nichols's chronology, with August, 1517, and a few letters are included which he places earlier in that year. Short as the period is, it is one of great activity on the part of Erasmus, and also one of the most decisive importance for his whole later life. It is the period in which his attitude toward the Protestant Reformation was being determined by the constant pressure of all parties to win the support of the greatest single intellectual force in Europe. Erasmus, conscious of his power, eager to serve the one cause that seemed to him worth while, the cause of sound learning and its application to all human affairs, betrays in his letters far more than in his more carefully considered compositions the working of his mind upon the personal problem raised by the Lutheran outbreak—on which side he should throw the weight of his opinion.

An illustration of such self-revelation is found, for instance, in the long letter to Cardinal Wolsey, set by Dr. Nichols in May, 1517, but obviously of later date (Allen, 1519). It is here that Erasmus makes the fatuous claim that he has never read more than a page or two of Luther and knows no more about him than the veriest stranger. In this period fall also the very beautiful tribute to Thomas More in a letter to Ulrich von Hutten, and the letter to Budaeus on the controversy with the French theologian Lefèvre, one of the best illustrations of Erasmus's insistence on his love of peace while at the same time he is delivering his most vicious blows at an antagonist who, according to him, has provoked him beyond endurance.

As to the detail of translation little needs to be added to what we have said in former notices. There is the same careful choice of words and phrases, the same conscientiousness in rendering the spirit of the original, and the same freedom from literalness in form. It is greatly to be hoped that some equally well-qualified scholar, with many years before him, may be tempted to carry on the good work and give to the world of English readers the sequence of the Erasmian correspondence during the remaining eighteen years of the great humanist's life.

E. EMERTON.

Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation. Veröffentlicht von den Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Lutherausgabe. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1917. Pp. vi, 285.)

FIFTEEN scholars, associated in the critical edition of Luther's works, have here erected to their hero a monument "better than bronze". Archimedes himself, surrounded by the havoc of war, could not have studied more profoundly than have they.

The first essay, by that dean of Luther scholars, Gustav Kawerau, concerned with the early collections of the Reformer's letters, is a valuable prolegomenon to the new (Weimar) edition of the same. It is now nearly four hundred years since Obsopoeus published the first farrago of Luther's epistles, and the work of editing them is not done yet. Since, in 1884, Enders began the standard text, now nearly or quite completed with the sixteenth volume, about 125 new letters have come to light; a portion of these have been incorporated into his later volumes, but the reviewer has counted forty-five published and three unpublished letters still lacking in his pages. Though something has been done both to correct Enders and to supplement him in the American version of Luther's correspondence, a text at once complete and definitive must be awaited until that planned in the Weimar edition is done, should it, indeed, ever be published under the present tragic circumstances.

In resuming the history of the strife between Luther and Zwingli, Walter Köhler has three purposes: (1) to show that the whole thing was an unfortunate misunderstanding due to the Wittenberger's confounding the Swiss with Carlstadt and the Anabaptists; (2) to prove that the difference on the real presence was no more fundamental than divergence on several other dogmas; (3) to defend Zwingli from the charge of dishonorable methods of propaganda. Köhler admits, however, that the somewhat disingenuous tactics of Zwingli only made matters worse for him in the end.

Ernest Kroker has discovered a document on Luther's courtship, revealing facts only partially known before. In 1552 Amsdorf related that before he left Wittenberg in September, 1524, Catharine von Bora, whom he calls the prettiest of the refugee nuns, came to him and complained that Luther was trying to force her to marry Dr. Glatz, whereas she preferred to marry either Amsdorf or Martin himself. Accordingly, at the next opportunity, the noble Amsdorf says to his friend: "Why the devil will you urge and force good Katie to marry that old miser?" and receives the reply, "What devil *does* she want? If she won't have Glatz, she may wait a good while for someone else". But before a year was out Catharine's waiting was at an end.

One phase of the enormous effort that has gone to make the Weimar edition so nearly perfect is dealt with by Ernst Thiele in a survey of the extant Luther autographs. Surprisingly large as is his list, it is not yet

complete. No less than three autograph inscriptions, in books once owned by Luther and now in England, are known to the reviewer, but have escaped Thiele. He excludes from his list letters, because he believes they are fully noted in Enders. This is not the case. None of the autographs now in America are known to Enders, nor are some of the autographs in England.

Two studies of the work of Luther's amanuenses Dietrich and Röser, by Freitag and Reichert respectively, not only give an impressive survey of what history owes to these self-suppressing disciples, but do something to clear up the problem of the provenance of portions of the *Table Talk*. Other articles on the hymns, on the translation of the New Testament, and on the Wittenberg press all have their interest. The volume closes with the publication of a letter from Cardinal Salviati to the Cardinal of Ravenna on the proposal to settle the schism by offering Luther and one of his friends red hats. The date, 1539, is doubted by the editor, Karl Drescher, but to the reviewer seems unobjectionable.

PRESERVED SMITH.

The Political Works of James I., reprinted from the Edition of 1616. With an Introduction by CHARLES HOWARD MCILWAIN, Professor of History and Government in Harvard University. [Harvard Political Classics, vol. I.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. Pp. cxi, 354. \$4.00.)

THIS is the first volume of what the Harvard Press hopes may become a series of reprints of the less accessible material for the history of political science. "The student needs to know not alone *what* the masters thought, but also *how* they thought. . . . He needs above all somehow to gain an appreciation of the whole political mind of the period." This he must attain, the editor feels, by a study of the original works *in extenso*. Only thus can he become accustomed to the "intellectual climate". Professor McIlwain believes that there was no period when the influence of England upon political thinking was so extensive as during the first decade of the reign of James I., and that the king himself was directly responsible for it. Both these considerations justify a reprint of the king's political writings.

This reprint follows the text of the edition of 1616, which was prepared with the king's sanction, and which embodied his own corrections and changes. No variant readings to the earlier editions have been given, though for the most part the references and side-notes of the original edition have been retained as foot-notes. The editor wisely refrained however from any attempt to identify those annotations left vague by the royal author or his editors. The editor has also wisely collected his own comment in a systematic and lengthy introduction, in which he treats of English thought in the sixteenth century with rela-

tion to Church and State, of James's notions of divine right, and in particular of the history of the controversy occasioned by James's *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*. This last furnishes about half of the introduction. Unquestionably, Professor McIlwain has made a fresh and original study of the material, and has verified and amplified the accounts already given by Figgis and Gooch. A good deal of material of minor importance is grouped together for the first time, and the history of the controversy over James's works is related more fully than in any previous account in English, if an account as insistently trilingual as this introduction can be said to be in English.

Inasmuch as this is the first of a series of texts intended for students, it may not be amiss to examine the *apparatus criticus* itself. It was apparently the editor's design to compel the student to apply himself earnestly both to the text and to the introduction; to make some really considerable demands on his attention; to assume an ability to follow a somewhat lengthy process of reasoning, an ability to handle considerable masses of detail, not too obviously arranged for his convenience. Throughout, an ability to read political science and ecclesiastical controversy currently in Latin (which is by no means synonymous with an ability to read Latin) is presumed. It is a book therefore aimed rather at graduate than at undergraduate students, at the larger rather than the smaller university, and will be most useful in seminar. While the average student might with profit read parts of the introduction or certain pages of the text, it is precisely this piecemeal attack upon political science that the editor wishes to foreclose and discourage. Thoroughness seems, however, to be less a positive than a comparative fact and depends primarily upon one's point of view. Would not competent and mature students get a broader grasp of the period from a careful reading of a hundred pages of James, and a hundred each of Parsons, Bellarmine, and du Perron in the original texts, than from four hundred of James alone in reprint? If the former is fragmentary is not the latter one-sided?

Nor does this careful, elaborate, and handsome reprint make the king's writings more accessible to scholars and historians. The index is brief and covers the introduction more carefully than the text itself. Many entries seem perfunctory and inconsequential. An index more useful to scholars would have analyzed James's ideas in their relation to the modern phraseology of political science rather than in their relation to James's own terminology, would have referred to the principal passages dealing with what we should now call sovereignty, the structure of the state, the legislative as distinguished from the executive, if James made any distinction, and, if not, the passages in which he treated them as different aspects of the same thing. But an elaborate index of the text on any basis would have been a great service to learning.

The format of the book is admirable, and in the main the technical book-making is excellent. There are few misprints, but some of them

one is surprised to find: Cicil, (p. lv); Alplogie, (p. lx); Bellarimine; Replique in text, Réplique in foot-note, (p. lxx); Pont-a-Mousson at least twice for Pont-à-Mousson, (p. lxx). The punctuation of the introduction is not always consistent; on page lxix, quotation marks are omitted from the French and Latin quotations in one paragraph, and employed in the next.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Maria Theresia, ihr Leben und ihre Regierung. Von EUGEN GUGLIA. In two volumes. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1917. Pp. vi, 388; 418.)

MAY 13, 1917, was the two-hundredth anniversary of Maria Theresa's birthday. In anticipation of it the Austrian historian, Eugen Guglia, had begun before 1914 a biography which should be a memorial to her, little dreaming of the war which was to deprive her descendants of the throne itself. Although the war closed to him the materials in the Austrian Ministry of War and made impossible any investigation in foreign archives, it did not otherwise seriously interrupt his work, nor does it appear to have warped with prejudice any of his conclusions.

These two volumes naturally challenge comparison with the ten on which Arneth spent half a lifetime. Guglia of course makes much use of Arneth's text and of the long extracts from the sources in Arneth's notes; anyone who writes on Austria in the eighteenth century must do so. But Guglia's work is in no sense a mere condensation or compilation from his predecessor's great work. For the latter appeared in the years 1863-1879, and in the period since that time a mass of new printed material relating to Maria Theresa and her reign has become accessible—the Khevenhüller diaries, the correspondence of the empress with the Electoral Princess Maria Antonia of Saxony, the detailed military accounts of the Silesian Wars by the Austrian and the Prussian general staffs, and a host of monographs on all phases of Austrian history. All these the author has turned to good account. He has also a strong antiquarian turn of mind and has been able to weave into his story many new and interesting points of real historical value. He paints therefore a decidedly fresh picture of the great Austrian heroine. It is also more readable than Arneth's somewhat heavy work.

Being primarily interested in drawing the character of Maria Theresa, the woman and ruler, rather than in narrating a history of her times, he relates, of military events, only so much as is necessary to make intelligible the diplomatic negotiations or measures of reform which were necessarily interwoven with the military situation. This subordination of the wars which filled so large a part of her reign leaves the author space for excellent accounts of her relations with her various ministers and of the great reforms in the bureaucratic organization, finance, justice, religion, the condition of the serfs, and of many other

matters. These were all subjects which she considered carefully and conscientiously during the first ten years of her reign in spite of the interruption and preoccupation caused by the War of the Austrian Succession; some of the reforms, to be sure, were not put into operation until the time of her less prudent son, Joseph II. There are also good chapters on the life at Maria Theresa's court, her amusements, her large family (she was the mother of sixteen children), and on the art, literature, and music of the Vienna of her day.

At the beginning of her reign the young empress-queen gave many evidences of that courageous determination, steadfastness, and wise influence on both her husband and her ministers which made her so respected and loved by her subjects. When, for instance, the King of Prussia marched without any substantial right to seize Silesia, he sent agents to offer Maria Theresa peace and Prussian support for the election of her beloved husband as emperor, on condition that she would cede forthwith a part of Silesia. Her husband and her ministers were inclined to listen to these Prussian proposals. On one occasion when her husband, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was discussing the proposals with the Prussian emissary, Maria Theresa, who was listening in the next room, feared he might make compromising concessions; whereupon she opened the door, asking simply, "Is the Grand Duke there?" That was sufficient. In the subsequent negotiations he took the much firmer attitude which accorded with his wife's ideas of right and justice.

Later in the same year she met the Hungarian Diet. Voltaire and legend have represented her fleeing from Vienna to Pressburg before the Prussian and Bavarian attack, holding the infant Joseph in her arms, and making a spontaneous appeal in Latin to the Hungarian magnates to defend her, her children, and her lands. Whereat her loyal and enthusiastic Hungarian subjects cried out with one accord, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa!*", and talked of raising at once a volunteer army of 100,000 troops. Guglia's account, with characteristic care for precision of detail, shows the facts to be somewhat different. The purpose of the meeting was in considerable part to secure the recognition of her husband as joint governor of Hungary, a recognition which the independence-loving Hungarians had been hitherto unwilling to grant. Instead of being a spontaneous outpouring, Maria Theresa's Latin speech was probably prepared for her by her trusted councillor, Bartenstein, from whom she often requested drafts for necessary royal addresses in Latin (*cf.* p. 103, n. 1). The infant Joseph was not present at all. His place in the legend is probably due to the fact that he was sent for by his mother and was presented to the magnates at a wholly different meeting ten days later, when, however, he does not appear to have evoked much enthusiasm. The number of troops which were actually raised was less than 40,000, and even this number was not ready for more than a year, was without discipline, and soon melted away in large part through desertion. However, it is unquestioned that the

young queen spoke with emotion, and drew protestations of loyalty and support from her hearers, though what they shouted was: "Vitam nostram et sanguinem consecramus!" This exhibition of Hungarian loyalty also had a salutary effect upon the King of Prussia; he hastened to conclude with Austria the treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf.

In the vexed question of the origin of the Seven Years' War, after going over all the evidence, Guglia rejects Lehmann's contentions and holds Austria partly responsible for giving Frederick grounds for thinking that he was in danger of an attack from Austria, and that he was therefore not wholly without justification in the fall of 1756 in making what Moltke would have called a "preventive war". Altogether Guglia's biography gives the best picture of Maria Theresa's personality which has been written.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The French Revolution in English History. By PHILIP ANTHONY BROWN. (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son. 1918. Pp. xiv, 232.)

THE chief fault one finds in this book is its title; it is in fact another account of the influence of the French Revolution on contemporary English politics and writers on political and social subjects. The poets are not entirely neglected, but they receive attention only in as far as they reflect the political ferment of the time. Mr. Brown has not said the final word, but his book is probably the sanest interpretation of a difficult subject that anybody has given. His death in battle has an added element of tragedy in that it deprives him of the chance to revise this book in the light of things that he might better have understood in the psychology of men a century ago by comparing their behavior with that which has happened under our own eyes in the war just ended.

Mr. Brown's instinct for the things that matter led him to look for the roots of the political doctrines of the Revolutionary years in the decades that preceded the French débâcle. He seems to have felt also that more of the English radical movement sprang from the current industrial conditions than he quite says in so many words. Perhaps a final pronouncement on that subject can never be made; whether the British workingmen would have developed organizations so soon without the news from France will always be an unsettled question. Probably Mr. Brown does not set too great store by the French influence, if we agree that French influence was at all real.

The best-reasoned chapters in the book are those that treat of the relations of Pitt's administration with the radical societies and their leaders. On this subject the author used some new material which he found in the Treasury Solicitor's Papers in the Public Record Office. Mr. Brown gives the best account extant of the organization of the radical societies and of the counter-propaganda. His statements, for

the most part, agree substantially with conclusions reached by the reviewer after further study subsequent to the publication of his own *England and the French Revolution*.

The last two chapters in the book on the Revolution's Secondary Effects, in which the author makes 'an excursion into the nineteenth century, are based on less extensive study and are accordingly less substantial. Perhaps in a less troublous time he might have pursued his investigation into this wider field; in that case, with the perception of the social forces at work in those years which this book reveals, he would have contributed materially toward an understanding of the early history of English democracy. Had Mr. Brown lived to edit the book himself, he would probably have remedied some deficiencies in the footnotes, though they are not serious faults. He might also have become more critical of some of his authorities and so have changed certain details. But, all in all, the work of the editors is creditably done.

One cannot help a final word of regret that a career so promising as this book and the memoir of his life by Gilbert Murray, which it contains, indicate Mr. Brown's to have been was cut short in its beginning.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

The Deeper Causes of the War. By ÉMILE HOVELAQUE. Translated by the Author. With an Introduction by Sir Walter Raleigh. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1916. Pp. 158. \$1.25.)

The Evolution of Prussia: the Making of an Empire. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT and C. GRANT ROBERTSON. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. Pp. 459. \$1.75.)

So long as historians seek to explain the present as the outcome of the past, they are bound to read the past in the light of the present. This means continual reinterpretation, and sometimes a return to an older interpretation. Until the last century, many Prussians and nearly all other Germans regarded the expansion of Prussia simply as the result of superior energy and greater unscrupulousness in the struggle of rival dynasties for land and power. Early in the nineteenth century, Prussian historians developed the theory of a more or less unconscious but very real purpose running through the aggrandizement of their monarchy: the protection of Germany against foreign conquest and rule. There were indeed Germans who preferred foreign rule to that of Prussia, who found the little finger of the Hohenzollerns heavier than the loins of Danish or French rulers; but in the revival of German national sentiment during the Napoleonic wars, many non-Prussian Germans began to regard Prussia as the rock on which a united Germany was to be built. After 1871, many foreign historians accepted the Prussian view: the entire history of Prussia was to be regarded, in the

light of German unity, as a process by which Prussia had earned the right to organize and control Germany.

With the development of German aspirations for world-power, supported by the pseudo-Darwinian theory that the relation of nations to each other was to be regarded as a struggle for survival, the older interpretation of Prussian history was bound to reappear. The outbreak of the World War gave it general acceptance, at least outside of Germany. In the first part of M. Hovelague's little book, this reinterpretation of Prussian history is developed with the remorseless consequence of a mathematical demonstration. Prussia's exposed situation required, from the outset, constant preparation for war. Because of the poverty of its soil and its heterogeneous population, such preparation necessitated a high economic efficiency and an iron discipline. These "fatalities of formation and development . . . predestined Prussia, like a cancerous growth, to spread ever wider . . . her encroaching cells, and . . . condemn her to unceasing aggression or annihilation" (p. 14). "The inspiration of a providential mission other than its own aggrandizement came to it from without. Germany, mother of philosophies and mysticisms, begot the theories of German unity, of conquest . . . of the infinite superiority of the Teutonic blood, and of the duties and monstrous rights which this superiority confers" (pp. 43, 44).

The second part of M. Hovelague's book deals with German hatred of England and German theories regarding England. In refuting these theories, he pays an eloquent tribute to the English people and to the idealism which, in his opinion, inspires British imperialism (pp. 147-158).

The author has translated his book into English which is not only clear and strong, but also idiomatic. The only Gallicism the reviewer has noted is "dissimulating" for "concealing" (p. 35).

In *The Evolution of Prussia* the same general view is implicit. The Great Elector and Frederick II., Stein, Hardenberg, and Bismarck are depicted as primarily concerned with the maintenance and expansion of Prussian power. The authors recognize, however, that all these men were actuated by a strong and controlling sense of duty. To them political morality was "a higher and more binding morality . . . independent of and superior to social morality and the canons of individual and private conduct" (p. 24). The treatment of Prussian history by these English writers is not only objective, it is also sympathetic. When we consider that this book, although probably written, for the most part, before the war, was prepared for publication in the autumn of 1915, its fairness and the restraint with which it is written are remarkable.

This volume meets a real need, because it is the only book in English that covers the rise and development of Brandenburg-Prussia and the Prussianization of Germany under the Hohenzollern dynasty, and because, on the whole, the work is well done. To treat the period prior to 1618 in thirty-four pages, and to show, in this limited space, how the

scattered territories ruled by the Great Elector were acquired by the dynasty, is not easy; but the narrative would be clearer if the material were better arranged. From 1618 on, however, the story becomes clear and is told in a readable and interesting way.

The absence of references makes it difficult to control questionable statements. In the account of the Spanish candidacy which led to the Franco-Prussian War, we are told that in July, 1870, King William "secretly counselled the withdrawal" of Prince Leopold's candidacy (p. 363). It seems clear that the king was originally opposed to the candidacy; but it is known that in June, 1870, he was persuaded by Bismarck to approve it. That after this he should have endeavored to thwart his chancellor's policy "secretly" seems out of keeping with all we know of the king's character and of his treatment of his ministers. In Mr. Grant Robertson's biography of Bismarck, published during the present year, no such statement is made, although the episode is treated more fully than in the book under review.

In an otherwise unexceptionable analysis of the German imperial constitution (pp. 372-376), it is stated that in the field of administration the central authority was conspicuously weak. This judgment seems to be based on the fact that the empire relied for the execution of its policies mainly on state officials. In spite of this, however, the federal council and the imperial chancellery seem to have been able to secure effective execution of their ordinances and decrees.

By some inexplicable inadvertence, the non-renewal of the "reinsurance treaty" of 1884, which on page 407 is correctly stated to have occurred after Bismarck's retirement in 1890, is placed, on page 431, after the Japano-Chinese War, in 1896.

The history closes with Bismarck's dismissal, but an "epilogue" deals briefly with the course of events from 1890 to 1914. One passage deserves to be quoted. After speaking of the remarkable firmness with which Bismarck "imposed limits on himself", the authors say:

In the list of his defects, crimes, or blunders, megalomania cannot fairly be placed. The intoxication of success, the fever of nationalist pride, never mastered his head. One of the most passionate of men, he was one of the coolest and most calculating of statesmen. . . . Modern Germany has been too apt to forget that 'Realpolitik'—a policy based on reality—and the 'Realpolitiker'—the statesman of 'reality'—were not discoveries of the generation after 1890. The names of Frederick and Bismarck have been invoked as the founders of a school, which they would have probably pointed out blundered in making a picture from the dreams of ambition and calling it a reality (pp. 425-426).

MUNROE SMITH.

Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871. Von ALFRED STERN. Band VII. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1916. Pp. xxv, 796.)

It is twenty-five years since Dr. Stern began to publish his *Geschichte Europas*, of which this volume covers the period from the proclamation of the Second French Republic to the outbreak of the Crimean War. On this scale at least three more volumes will be required to bring the story to 1871, and one can only hope that the distinguished historian, who is past seventy, will be able to complete his great undertaking. We shall then have an exhaustive and definitive treatment from a single pen of perhaps the most momentous half-century in the history of Europe.

The previous volumes described the forces which precipitated the revolutionary movement of 1848; this one is, accordingly, almost exclusively a narrative of events, with little in the way of comment or criticism. In recent accounts of the nineteenth century, the great convulsion has been rather summarily treated; not unnaturally, since the tangible results were so meagre. But Dr. Stern has the perspective of the older historians. He perceives that the years 1848-1852 were a turning-point in the history of Europe (this volume begins the *dritter Abteilung*), and he writes the story in appropriate detail. Events great and small, personages famous and obscure, incessant ministerial changes, laws and projects of laws, constitutions, battles, intricate diplomatic negotiations, treaties—there is nothing or nobody omitted that played any part in the great drama. One is indeed bewildered at times, for the narrative proceeds almost day by day, and the author pauses but seldom to show the significance of events; yet if he does not offer a clue to the maze, he is able, by admirable character-sketches of the leading actors, by numerous quotations from letters, speeches, and documents, and perhaps most of all by the very simplicity of his narrative, to convey the dominant idea of any situation, such as the confusion of the Frankfort Parliament, the iron resolution of Schwarzenberg, or the cool determination of Louis Napoleon.

The difficult question of arrangement is handled with real success. Dr. Stern considers "Central Europe" as one vast arena for the conflict of democratic, nationalist, and absolutist ideals, and weaves the events in Austria, Hungary, Germany, Prussia, and Sleswick-Holstein, with their interactions and reactions, into one stupendous drama. Carrying the story down to September, 1848, he turns to Italy, whose fortunes for the entire year 1848 are set forth in a single chapter. He then recrosses the Alps, and completes the narrative for Germany and Austria to the restoration of the old governments, together with an account of the Austrian Concordat in 1855. A second chapter on Italy, which ends with the appointment of Cavour's "great ministry", completes the saga

of the revolution. From this point the method becomes rather artistic. The calm of Russia affords a marked contrast with the revolutionary storm; this leads directly to Russian relations with Turkey concerning the Principalities and the Magyar refugees; and the chapter concludes with an interesting account of the "European emigration", which, directed towards London, found under British law the opportunity to keep alive the revolutionary propaganda. It is proper, therefore, to describe the Chartist fiasco and the Irish rebellion, the vicissitudes of English politics and the exposition of 1851. Then the other constitutional monarchies, Belgium and Holland, are treated, and since the religious question was to the fore in Holland, the next subject is "the triumph of the Catholic church", which permits a brief consideration of the affairs of Spain and Portugal. But this triumph was conditioned by the support of France, so it remains to describe the history of that country from the election of Louis Napoleon to the proclamation of the Second Empire. Thus the volume ends, as it began, with the attention fixed on the leading state of the Continent. Also the final impression is that of Europe gone over to reaction, in contrast to the liberal ideas dominant in 1848. All things considered, a masterly treatment, with constant reminders that the author is writing "*die Gesamtgeschichte Europas*". The history of Switzerland from 1848 is reserved for the next volume, and so, doubtless, is that of Norway and Sweden.

In addition to the older sources, the author has laid under contribution a vast amount of recent biographical and monographic material, as well as memoirs and private papers. And as in the earlier volumes, the archives have yielded fruit: quotations from Berlin, Frankfurt, Copenhagen, Bern, and Turin are frequent and interesting, and some of the documents are printed in an appendix. A long despatch from Rochow, Prussian ambassador in St. Petersburg, dated March 12, 1848, reports a conversation with the tsar, who urged Frederick William IV. to act promptly and decisively in the matter of German unity. In some letters of Pfuel in September-October, 1848, the Prussian king upbraids the minister for his irresolute handling of the assembly. According to a despatch from the Frankfort representative in Paris, dated November 10, 1849, the prince-president had invited Thiers to form a ministry, since France must intervene in the Orient to restrain Austria and Russia in their demands upon Turkey. Several interesting documents relative to the Sleswick-Holstein question are also printed. There is no formal bibliography and no index, although the latter will doubtless be supplied in the last volume of the *Abteilung*, and the very full table of contents provides a partial substitute. In view of the military operations in Italy and Hungary, some kind of a map would have been useful. The style is generally simple and the sentences not too long, although the author has a certain fondness for the descriptive or modifying clause-within-clause.

Chary as Dr. Stern is of criticism or interpretation, it is clear that

his sympathies go out to the vanquished. A free Germany, a united Italy, an autonomous Hungary, a democratic France were worthy causes. He has only scorn for the weak and insincere Prussian monarch, an intense dislike for the Austrian reactionaries, much admiration for the patriots of Italy, contempt for the intriguing president of France. These views are not deliberately expressed, but are manifested in the course of the narrative, sometimes by a stray adjective or by the mere accumulation of facts. Once or twice, indeed, he lets himself go, as in the moving description of Garibaldi's defense of Rome or the pen-portraits of Victor Emmanuel II. and Cavour. There is not the abuse of Palmerston so often found in German books, and he quotes with approval the famous paragraph at the end of the tenth chapter of Macaulay's *History*, written in November, 1848, in which the free institutions and prosperity of England are contrasted with the chaos of the Continent. Yet he writes without prejudice, is never unfair, and does not slur over the mistakes and shortcomings of the liberal leaders. But if the writing is throughout entirely objective, the clear impression is left that the failure of the movements of 1848 was a fearful tragedy; for the easy and complete triumph of reaction discredited the democratic idea, and the conservative and middle classes, alarmed by certain of its more radical aspects, henceforth put their trust in princes. A popular victory in 1848 would have meant a democratic Germany and a free Europe; no one has explained better than this Swiss historian why that victory was not achieved.

In conclusion something must be said of the preface. The author, in his first volume, had spoken of "the community of ideas and interests of the European peoples which by virtue of inward necessity binds them to one another and leads them along the same path of spiritual development". The war might appear to be the negation of this hope, but

the common roots of European (*gesamteuropäischen*) civilization are too strong to be destroyed even by the fury of the hurricane which is now sweeping over the world. The peoples of Europe, no one of whom is a chosen race, cannot, even if they wish it, get away from a close interdependence in their spiritual experiences and material needs. The time must come when broken threads are again taken up, broken bridges restored. Today, more than ever, is it a holy duty of the historian to avoid everything which may hinder or prolong this process of healing. More earnestly than ever must he take care, in Ranke's imperishable phrase, "to efface himself and let things tell their own story". It will be my greatest reward if in the last part of my *Geschichte Europas* I shall have succeeded in at least approaching this goal.

Let us indeed hope that this spirit will guide those who shall write the history of our times and the Great War.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Band V. Von JOHANNES DIERAUER. [Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten.] (Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1917. Pp. xxxvi, 807.)

THE fifth and concluding volume of Dierauer's history of the Swiss federation brings the narrative to its culmination, the adoption of the constitution of 1848. The volume begins with the formation of the Helvetic Republic in 1798, after the fall of the old confederacy, that had existed for five centuries. The new order of things did not fulfill the high expectations of ardent Swiss patriots. The French sons of liberty, who had helped to overthrow the powerful aristocracy of Bern, remained quartered on the Swiss population twenty-five thousand strong and forced upon the cantons a government little in accord with traditional Swiss liberties and privileges. Confiscation of treasure, as that of Bern's twenty-four million, and heavy war taxes levied upon five cantons and three monasteries to the amount of sixteen million livres, and subsequently the war upon the refractory forest cantons, could not but alienate the hearts of the Swiss people generally, who soon looked upon their liberators as conquerors and oppressors.

Under the new Helvetic constitution the two parties, the unionists who upheld the national idea with a strong central government, and the federalists who desired a return to the old confederacy of sovereign cantons loosely held together, grew more and more antagonistic and were soon found on the verge of civil war. Thereupon Napoleon, then First Consul for life, summoned representatives of both parties to Paris, and with conscious mastery dictated the Act of Mediation. "I", said he, "who through circumstances have gained the confidence of the French people, I should consider myself incapable of governing the Swiss." Then he held up to them, that if they should choose a Bernese, Zürich would be dissatisfied; if the choice were a man from Zürich, Bern would feel resentment; that the Catholics and Protestants stood in similar opposition; a rich man would presumably belong to the aristocracy and already on that account would not gain confidence; a man of merit without private means would require a high salary, which would be felt to be a crushing expense and a revolting innovation. With such bluffing half-truths he dashed to the ground all hopes of Swiss national union. His Act of Mediation was a skillful compromise between some of the desires of the two opposing parties, preserving much of the historical liberties of the individual states, yet combining them under one government—though dependent for its stability upon the good-will of its French neighbor and calculated to serve the interests of her ambitious ruler. The freedom of the press was destroyed, restriction of publicity was regarded as a governmental right. When the diet assembled (1803), Marshal Ney handed over the military terms accompanying the act, by which 16,000 Swiss were to be recruited for the French armies, and 8000 more if France should be attacked, all officers, from

subaltern to commanding general, to be appointed by Napoleon. After such a levy not enough men between eighteen and forty were left to the Swiss for resisting any demand whatever.

The one advantage Switzerland derived was to keep her territory safe from the ravages of the continuous wars that devastated so large a part of Europe during the next ten years, "an isle of peace in the surging world-sea". But the price was enormous, and even at that Swiss neutrality was twice violated, when in Napoleon's war against Austria in 1809 his forces crossed the Rhine at Basel, and on the return the victorious French troops, without permission, passed by way of Schaffhausen through Reinfeld and Basel to their homes.

After the overthrow of the great conqueror, reactionary elements in Switzerland, aided from without, threatened to restore all aristocratic, feudal, religious, and sundry other privileges that had obtained before 1798. Two parties now faced each other as before the Act of Mediation, the liberal and the conservative, and their attitude was no less hostile toward each other. The attempt of Swiss patriots to avoid a protectorate of the Holy Alliance, replacing that of France which had become so obnoxious, was thwarted by the narrow and selfish tendencies of the cantonal representatives. Their particularism (*Kantonli-geist*) grew to such a pitch at the diet of 1814-1815, that only the threat of intervention from the outside put an end to their quarrels. The Swiss diet succeeded in drawing up a "compact", not a constitution, which Dierauer shows was a step backward from the Act of Mediation dictated by the First Consul. Fortunately it was within the interests of the Holy Alliance to keep the cantons from plunging into civil war, and this was accomplished by maintaining a weak central organization dependent upon themselves. Far-sighted Swiss statesmen had to build their hopes on a future generation, when petty strife and selfish interest might be cast out by a spirit of broader nationality based upon a liberal constitution.

Such hopes seemed on the path of realization in the thirties, when attempts were made to reform the compact, make suffrage more general and the central authority more powerful, but it took another decade for the fruit to ripen. In the meantime there was repeated danger of intervention by the great reactionary powers, because of the maintenance by the Swiss cantons of the old right of asylum for refugees from neighboring countries. The right of neutrality, guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna, seemed at stake for the preservation of the equally precious heritage of the right of asylum. German, Italian, and Polish revolutionists found refuge in the hospitable cantons, as in former ages those persecuted for their religion. Especially noteworthy is the case of the brothers Follen(ius), two of whom came to America, one of them, Carl Follen, distinguished as a Harvard professor, Unitarian minister, and early advocate of abolition.

Toward the end of the forties, events moved rapidly toward liberal-

ism and revolution. Switzerland was endangered by a complication, the struggle with the Jesuit order, and the resulting secession of Catholic cantons in the so-called "Sonderbund". Happily the liberal movements in Prussia and Austria, and the friendly attitude of England and France, left Switzerland to attend to her own affairs. The liberal cantons waged successful war against the seceding league, and the liberal leaders rose to the emergency and framed a constitution, which, with but one revision, that of 1874, remains to the present day. An interesting fact is that in the debates the plan for a national assembly based upon popular suffrage with a veto power by the cantons, was dropped in favor of one modelled consciously after the Constitution of the United States, with two legislative houses, one based upon popular suffrage, the other upon equal representation of the states or cantons.

The chauvinist or super-patriot may find Dierauer's annalistic pages far from satisfying. There is little color, no glitter of style, no eulogistic display of popular heroes. Objectiveness, painstaking accuracy, and thoroughness of research characterize Dierauer's history. Movements and events fascinate him more than individuals, and like fate itself he casts them upon the scrap-heap after they have performed their parts in the great progress of things. He closes his masterly work soberly with the words:

The union founded in 1848 has proved itself to be a happy achievement, for it was not, as once the Helvetic Republic, forced on by an unhistorical political doctrine from without, but designed after the pattern of native, historical traditions, and resulting from a constantly swelling inner movement. . . . May the regenerated Swiss Federation stride forward with confidence and while conditions in Europe are betimes in a state of ferment, observing strict neutrality, preserve the precious possessions of peace and the right of asylum.

One misses, as also in volume IV., all reference to the subject of emigration, though it may have had some bearing upon the liberal movement in Switzerland; one misses also such delightful summaries of contemporary Swiss literature as are found in volume IV. It is well to remember that Gottfried Keller's prose stories (occasional reference is made [p. 689, etc.] to his revolutionary and patriotic lyrics) furnish us with types of character which bring the revolutionary period of 1848 vividly before us, as *e. g.* *Das Fähnlein der Sieben Aufrechten*, where the seven stalwarts visualize all the eccentricities and also the virtues of the staunch republicans.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

Richard Cobden, the International Man. By J. A. HOBSON. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919. Pp. 416. \$5.00.)

THIS is a fascinating but at the same time a tantalizing book. It is not a biography; it was not intended to be. As its author states, "It was designed, in the first instance, to rescue the memory of Cobden from the narrow misrepresentations to which it has been subjected by

giving stronger emphasis to his international work". But this purpose once achieved we are at the end of the volume. There is no correlation, to speak of, between Cobden the great economist, and Cobden the non-interventionist, between Cobden, genius of the Anti-Corn Law League, and Cobden of the British Peace Society. Professor Hobson has drawn a new, striking, and detailed sketch of Cobden; but it is only a sketch. His book is supplementary to Morley's biography, not complementary.

Composed for the most part of Cobden's correspondence, this book taps new, original material of great value, the more important being the letters written by Cobden to the Rev. Henry Richards of the British Peace Society, while only second in importance are various letters sent to Charles Sumner, transcribed especially for this book from the original documents in the Harvard Library and not included in the Sumner correspondence published in the *American Historical Review* (II. 306-319). In consequence this book becomes immediately a necessity to the student of the American Civil War, as well as to the student of pacifism.

To those of us who have regarded Cobden as largely immersed in the economic propaganda of free trade, it cannot but prove an enlightening volume. From 1850 to 1865 he was an active participant in a very earnest if not influential pacifist movement. Cobden was philosophically a "non-interventionist". But philosophy and action in his career were always closely linked. Hesitation was as foreign to his nature as was compromise. He knew no inhibitions, and like a true liberal was more loyal to intellectual ideas than to institutions. Intervention in foreign disputes he believed altogether wrong. Therefore, like all men who ride hobbies, he saw but one set of facts, and to them he ascribed exaggerated values.

In one sense of the word, the memory of Cobden has been rescued by this book; the reader cannot help being convinced that the interests of Cobden were international. But in another sense the popular conception of Cobden as a man of extreme dogmatism and mental inflexibility is heightened, not lessened, by these pages.

For the fifteen years in question Cobden fought bitterly every foreign intervention made by Great Britain. The Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the annexation of Burma, the defense of Don Pacifico, the Chinese War, the bombardment of Kagoshima, the occupation of Sarawak and of British Honduras, and the Ashantee War are all equally an evidence of the wickedness of intervention. Not once throughout these fifteen years does he approve of the protection of British lives by the British government through the use of force. Furthermore, his antagonism knew no discrimination. Many patriotic Englishmen believed the Crimean and the Chinese wars unjustified. But to Cobden the superb accomplishments of Rajah Brooke in Sarawak were of one piece with the chauvinism of Sir John Bowring in Canton, while missionaries in Burma and Africa might as well have been slave-traders as far as any recognition of their work by Cobden was concerned.

His reasoning at times is very curious. The brutalities of the revolting sepoys are turned by him into an argument against intervention in India. They did not thus treat one another, he argues, before the British came to India—an assumption contrary to fact—therefore the harsh behavior of the British in the peninsula must inferentially be the cause.

Professor Hobson tells us that Cobden was not a peace-at-any-price man; but he does not prove it. He states that Cobden "sometimes admitted that a cause might arise where a powerful nation was called upon to take up arms for the protection of another weak nation". But, as far as this reviewer knows, the sole justification for this claim is to be found in a foot-note in Morley's biography in which Cobden becomes so enthusiastic in the praise of Motley's *Dutch Republic* as to censure Queen Elizabeth for not intervening in Holland in the sixteenth century. According to Professor Hobson himself, Cobden wrote, "I am against any interference by the government of one country in the affairs of another nation, even if it be confined to moral suasion".

Cobden appears at his best in the correspondence with Charles Sumner. His criticism of the North is candid, and his interpretation of English sentiment toward the Civil War judicious. The obsession of free trade, however, which possessed him, is here curiously in evidence. He wrote that victory could only come to the North and intervention by Europe only be prevented by ending the blockade of the southern ports. The peace movement in Great Britain, indeed, was not only hampered by the intolerance and the narrow-mindedness of its leading protagonists, it was also retarded by the deification of trade and commerce which characterized those of Manchester. The fact that Cobden objected to the term "League of Brotherhood" and desired that "Peace Bazaar" be substituted in summoning a peace meeting is a unique and not insignificant fact. Cobden seems to have been a true predecessor of Norman Angell in believing that one can end war by proving it unprofitable.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Work of the Hague. Volume I. *The International Union of the Hague Conferences.* By WALTHER SCHÜCKING, Professor in the University of Marburg, Associate of the Institute of International Law. Volume II. *The Problem of an International Court of Justice.* By HANS WEHBERG, Gerichtsreferendar in Düsseldorf. Translated from the German by CHARLES G. FENWICK, Associate Professor of Political Science in Bryn Mawr College. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press; Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1918. Pp. xiv, 341; xxxiii, 251. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR SCHÜCKING has made valuable contributions to the study of international law. This book upon the *International Union of the*

Hague Conferences is the first of a series in which he plans to take up the work of the two Hague Conferences and to make their results more widely appreciated.

Dr. Schücking sees in the relationship entered into by the states represented at the Hague Conferences much more than the bond ordinarily established by conventional international unions. He considers that the Hague Conferences have set up an "international judicial community" whereas previously only "international administrative unions" had been established. It should be noticed that in maintaining this position Dr. Schücking is referring to institutions, like the International Prize Court, which never came into being because the convention upon that subject remains unratified, as does also that for the establishment of a Court of Judicial Arbitration.

Professor Schücking believes development will follow Umfried's idea: "The powers must finally become associates instead of competitors; they must form a trust among themselves, they must recognize the existing situation and bind themselves not to seek to disturb it by force of arms."

Dr. Schücking sees much of organized pacifism in the work of the Second Hague Conference. His argument based upon this work leads him to a conclusion somewhat similar to that embodied in the Paris League of Nations covenant of 1919, for he says: "If the nations have formed themselves into a world federation for the maintenance of the general peace, that act involves, in my opinion, as a legal consequence the mutual recognition of their independence and their territorial integrity."

Though this book is written by a German, it seems to be far from the common German point of view, but it points the way for those who wish to follow what Dr. Schücking himself recognizes as the higher ideal. He says: "We owe, most unfortunately, our empire not to peaceful domestic effort but to war, and militarism is so embedded in our bones that the peaceful organization of the civilized world is no longer an ideal in our eyes" (p. 65). It is suggestive that a German jurist, writing in 1911, should say: "The more brutal the way in which might openly triumphs over right at the present day, the more must the international law jurist endeavor to point out to mankind the ways and means which will lead it out of the dark valley of the past up to the bright heights of the future." From such statements as these it will easily be understood that the book of Dr. Schücking represents a recent tendency in German thought.

There are valuable suggestions in regard to a programme for the Third Hague Conference, should such a conference be held, and in chapter IV. the method of voting, equality of states, and procedure is considered, though probably few would agree with Dr. Schücking that population will be the ultimate test for the basis of international representation.

Schücking and Wehberg: The Work of the Hague 689

The translator does not always seem to observe the distinction between *Staatenbund* and *Bundesstaat*. He also occasionally adopts German idioms, as "ethicohumanitarian", "prescinding", etc., but on the whole the translation is clear. The book has a good subject-index, and a full index of persons.

Dr. Wehberg's book is the second in the series in regard to the work of the Hague Conferences published under the general direction of Professor Schücking.

The problem which Dr. Wehberg discusses—that of an international court of justice—has received much attention for many years, and particularly since the First Hague Conference in 1899. At the Second Hague Conference, under the name Judicial Arbitration Court, a proposal was put before the delegates and before the world for a court with general competence. It is of this court that Dr. Wehberg particularly writes. The so-called "permanent Court of Arbitration" had been set up under the convention of 1899. There was a growing feeling that this court was too costly, that national judges should not sit upon cases brought by their own country, and in general that provisions should be made for a court which might be called strictly judicial. Dr. Wehberg in supporting this position advocates, as have done many others, the largest possible connection between the permanent court and the proposed new court, maintaining properly that a court of justice would more easily be evolved from existing bodies than created *de novo*.

Dr. Wehberg asks (p. 117), "Why should we not introduce into international law the terms 'judicial settlement' and 'arbitration' to distinguish the two chief methods of procedure for the settlement of disputes?" To this it may be replied that there seems to be no reason against such procedure, but, when the procedure is adopted, it would seem proper to indicate the change in the name of the new court rather than to call it a Judicial Arbitration Court. While those who have given attention to the discussions at the Second Hague Conference understand the compromise involved in the name of this court, doubtless it would have been wiser to have given a name to the court which would indicate to the general public the purpose for which its institution was proposed.

The book furnishes an excellent commentary upon the Draft Convention relative to the Judicial Arbitration Court, and gives a good idea of recent discussion of problems involving the establishment of international courts.

An extended bibliography precedes the text, though it is not always easy to recognize authors by simple reference to their final names, as such names as Brown and Smith do not in English constitute sufficient identification. A fair index to subjects is followed by a full index to persons.

GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

La Péninsule Balkanique: Géographie Humaine. Par JOVAN CVIJIĆ, Professeur à l'Université de Belgrade, Agrégé à l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1918. Pp. vii, 528. 17 fr.)

IN this book the illustrious author, after a busy lifetime devoted to the study of the physical geography of the Balkan Peninsula, undertakes to bring his investigations to bear upon the Balkan man and therewith to supply us with a very welcome human geography of this intricate and fascinating region. No scholar in this field stands higher in respect of zeal, industry, and loving personal acquaintance with the widely different sections of the peninsula; and every Balkan student, particularly the American, largely dependent hitherto upon such works as Lyde and Newbigin, excellent in their way but written, as it were, from the outside, will be moved to thanks by the intimate character and native flavor of an exposition emanating from a Balkan resident, a Serb. Labelled human geography, the book rests none the less on a basis of physical geography which, when all is said, may prove to be its feature of greatest and most lasting value. For human geography is still a somewhat novel branch of knowledge and perforce lacks the logical method and scientific character of its elder sister. In the present work, for instance, the reader, when confronted with purely physical data, will feel a security and assurance which are likely to show signs of failing him on reaching the human and psychological expositions and discussions. This is, of course, not surprising, not only because physical geography has an established technique but also because its factors, such as soil, altitude, rainfall, and temperature, admit of a very exact determination. It does not do justice to Professor Cvijić to say that he is a master of his tools and data; the thing about him, the thing that makes him the unique geographer of the peninsula, is that he is on friendly terms with every separate area and gives the impression of knowing and loving every nook and corner. Whether it be a question of the wind-swept mountains of the Karst or of the green and reedy valley of the Ibar and Marica, the picture is charged with such exact and carefully distributed observation that it stands forth in the end clothed with a living spirit. The general student, habituated to thinking of the peninsula in such gross terms as Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Serbia, has a treat awaiting him in the several score of rich and subtly variegated landscapes by means of which the author replaces empty concepts with graphic visions.

From the point of view of the historian physical geography, aside from a mass of useful information, offers the example of a solid method likely to arouse his envy. He finds himself moving among forces of such dignity and vastness that struggling man with his joys and sorrows, with his vanities and absurd delusions, quickly dwindles to the worm he is. But human geography is another matter, simply because it is human, all too human. Doubtless it aspires in general, and certainly in the case

before us, to employ the approved method of physical geography in the hope of achieving similarly firm results. The thesis of human geography is and must be that man, member of a group, is the necessary product of his experience in one or several environments under changing social, economic, and political conditions. This experience gives birth to a psychical disposition or social soul which, itself constantly changing, determines his motives at any given time and endows him with a programme of action. To know the whole story of the formation of a human group and the succession of its earthly vicissitudes—assuming for the moment that this story can be known—is scientifically to account for its traits and qualities, or in the case of the amalgam of groups which we call nation for its outstanding national characteristics. An anthropogeography which fills this bill would largely help us to realize that passionate dream of many theorists, a scientific history. Such thoughts stir in the reader's consciousness as he follows Professor Cvijić's determination of the soul of the various Balkan groups and peoples. A fascinating game it proves to be, wherein we must admire the sure hand with which the author tabulates the factors accounting in each of the many instances he studies for the present psychical disposition of a group, perhaps the lower Morava group as distinct from the group of the upper Morava, or the Bulgar groups on either side of the Balkan range. But as for the scientific nature of the results obtained the circumspect historian will find himself assailed by doubts. For the psychical disposition of a group or people which the human geographer sets out to discover must, to be successfully described, be also evaluated, and Professor Cvijić, a modern Serb and Serb of Serbs, quite naturally brings to bear upon the problem a set of values born of our time and culminating in nationalism as the master-value. In this way he gives us an engrossing picture of the gradual and piecemeal formation of a common consciousness among the originally distinct elements of the Jugo-Slavs, but he also has the air of indicating a proud, self-conscious nationalism as the very end and apex of existence. True, in express terms he nowhere upholds this philosophical absurdity, yet he constantly implies it and does not see whither it leads him, even when he turns to the Bulgar soul and is moved to express a Serb's naïf horror at the exclusiveness and ferocity of Bulgar nationalism. In short, the anthropogeographer is likely to discover, like the historian before him, that the trouble about being scientific is not the dispute about the facts, though the historians are apparently forever wrangling over them, but changing and divergent viewpoints, that is, disagreement in the all-important matter of human values. Regrettably without an index, the book is profusely endowed with admirable maps.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Ten Years near the German Frontier: a Retrospect and a Warning.

By MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN, former United States Minister to Denmark. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1919. Pp. 364. \$3.00.)

IN 1907 Mr. Maurice Francis Egan was sent to Copenhagen as the American representative at the Danish court, where he remained till 1918. Since his return he has published a book in which he reviews his experiences during these ten momentous years in "the whispering gallery of Europe". As Mr. Egan is also an honored citizen of the republic of letters, it was to be expected that he would give us a lively, interesting, and finished work, and in this we have not been disappointed; there is not a dull paragraph in the volume. In Copenhagen the author entertained and conversed with a variety of supposedly important personages—princes, diplomats, intellectuals, clergymen, revolutionists, and many other sorts—all of them interesting in varying degrees. He has repeated some of these conversations and with astonishing fidelity, even to the free use of quotation marks, which the reviewer hopes are not to be taken too seriously.

Mr. Egan's principal theme is the ambition of Germany to secure a more dominating leadership in the European world. He deals quite circumstantially with the German propaganda in the northern countries: he shows how the Scandinavian intellectuals were assiduously cultivated, how Germany strove to keep the northern kingdoms apart in their foreign policies, and how the ancient fear of Russia was systematically nourished and intensified. He discusses at length the efforts made, through judicious use of ecclesiastical influences, to prevent the Americanization of German emigrants. On the Catholic side these plans were defeated by the determined opposition of the Irish-American bishops led by the late Archbishop Ireland. On this matter the author may be presumed to speak with authority; but when he asserts that the Swedish Lutherans of the West were "segregated under the direction of German-educated pastors" (p. 167), he speaks without information.

It was during Mr. Egan's last years in Copenhagen, and largely due to his untiring efforts, that our government finally succeeded in purchasing the Virgin Islands. In this transaction he naturally takes great pride; he relates quite circumstantially how the negotiations were carried forward to a successful issue, and how the Danish electorate after a most bitter fight was induced to ratify the agreement. He also includes a useful appendix containing a series of documents relating to earlier efforts to purchase these islands.

It seems ungenerous to close a review of a book so enjoyable and so informing with a list of imperfections; but in this case the list, running from the preface to the closing chapter, is too long to be passed over in silence. Queen Caroline Matilda was a daughter not a "sister of the second George of England" (p. 24). As Holstein was never a

part of the Danish kingdom, it is scarcely accurate to speak of Sleswick-Holstein as "the Alsace-Lorraine question in Denmark" (p. 26). It was clause V., not clause L., of the treaty of Prague that Prussia set aside in 1878 (p. 32). Prince Olav of Norway appears in the list of illustrations as Prince Ferdinand. Algeria (p. 59) is evidently an error for Algeciras. Prince Hans was the uncle not "the elder brother of Frederick VIII." (p. 228). Struense, Brandès, Svendsen (p. 241), Zeeland, and Morgenstjern should be written Struensee, Brandes, Swenson, Zealand, and Morgenstjerne. The reviewer has noted some twenty other errors, chiefly in the forms of proper names, most of which should probably be charged to careless or unintelligent proof-reading.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

National Governments and the World War. By FREDERICK A. OGG, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin, and CHARLES A. BEARD, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. viii, 603. \$2.50.)

THIS new volume, by two authors well known through their earlier publications and able to speak with the authority of experience and matured judgment, meets the need of an up-to-date text for a course on comparative government, and will prove valuable as a brief presentation of the political background of the war.

In material it is largely identical with portions of the two earlier volumes, Beard's *American Government and Politics* (1910) and Ogg's *Governments of Europe* (1913). Its chief new material appears in the introduction (ch. I.) on National Ideals and Government, in chapters VII. and VIII. on Our Democracy and Government in War Time, in chapters XV. and XVI. (by Dr. Ogg) on English Economic and Social Issues (13 pages) and Greater Britain: the Self-governing Colonies (20 pages), and in the two concluding chapters on the War and Political Reconstruction—one (ch. XXVII.) on American War Aims in Relation to Government by Dr. Beard, and the other (ch. XXVIII.) on the Problem of International Government by Dr. Ogg. It devotes to American federal government about 165 pages, or 262 pages less than Dr. Beard's earlier volume which also included an additional 327 pages on American state governments. It does not contain chapters IV.-VII. and XV.-XXXII. of the earlier book. To European governments it devotes 391 pages (270 pages to the four chief allied nations and 121 to the two Teutonic states)—a total of 255 pages less space than Ogg's earlier volume gives to all the European governments except the Russian, Turkish, and Balkan.

The volume emphasizes the effect of political institutions upon the character and progress of peoples—the relations of government to individual and social welfare. One chief purpose is to show modifications

of the conception of the democratic idea in the political development of the chief countries.

Although both in compass and arrangement calculated for the student, and prepared primarily for use as a college text, it will also prove useful to all citizens whose interests have been stimulated in the principles and problems of government and who seek to acquire a better knowledge of the political experience and problems of the chief nations.

It treats actual organization and operation of government rather than constitutional history. Primarily it presents a comparative study of contemporary political institutions; but it also indicates the influence of national heritage in the formation of these institutions, and describes briefly the changes in government organization and procedure during the World War.

In the immense extension of public functions, in mobilization and subjection to government authority of everything considered necessary for waging war, Dr. Beard sees the source of most difficult problems of future reconstruction.

For international government Dr. Ogg favors a league of nations with power to enforce peace by appropriate machinery and by acceptance of certain restrictions on the sovereignty of states. He urges that the United States, after taking the initiative as an ally in the war, cannot return to isolation in a world that has become "one great body".

The book, although it contains few foot-note references, is supplied with well-selected bibliographies immediately following each chapter. It also has a satisfactory index.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

La France pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918. Par GABRIEL ALPHAUD. Avec une Préface de M. Paul Deschanel. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1918. Pp. x, 285; 239. 3.50 fr.)

THE title of these two volumes is not descriptive of their contents. They are in part a series of articles, perhaps originally *feuilletons*, in which the effect of the war upon the ancient provinces of France—Normandy, Champagne, Languedoc, Burgundy, Guyenne, etc.—is portrayed, up to some undefined date in 1918; but in which, furthermore, certain very familiar picturesque episodes in the remoter history of these regions are narrated with little or no excuse and sometimes at tedious length. If the author had confined himself to the first part of this programme, which would have given him quite enough to do, he might have produced a book of considerable interest and permanent value. And, indeed, if a reader has skill enough to separate the new from the old, the actual from the romantic, much will be found here to reward his patience in wading through the pages in almost every chapter which are devoted to an unnecessary exaltation of local heroes and the repetition of patriotic legends. For example, in the chapter on Savoy,

the picture of the mountain villages, widowed and crippled by the loss of their middle-aged and young men, is worth observing, and so is the account of economic conditions and prospects in that land of hotels and health-resorts; in the chapter on Marseilles and Provence light is thrown upon the dark question of the behavior of the Fifteenth Corps of the French army, which was accused, in official reports, of bad conduct in the face of the enemy during the operations near Metz in August, 1914; the chapter on the Ardennes contains a significant account of the German effort to spread false information by means of the reptilian *Gazette des Ardennes*; the chapter on Normandy has at least the merit of describing, and with no small degree of vivacity, the great British camp at Rouen. In so far as M. Alphaud was able to visit the sixteen provinces of France to which his chapters are consecrated, and was willing to relate what he saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears, he has succeeded; and it would be unfair not to admit that he has in this way preserved a score of anecdotes which deserve to be remembered—tales of heroic adventure by land and sea, and of sacrifice and ingenuity at home. Even his pages of statistics, though incomplete and unsystematic, will probably have some value for students of history some day, because they give the numbers of German prisoners, of wounded French soldiers, of cattle and horses, of tons of provisions, etc., which were reckoned to be in certain provinces or districts when the chapters were written, though M. Alphaud seldom condescends to favor us with dates.

Apart from these good points, the book is of little value. The style is affected and rhapsodical. Clearness, the prime virtue of French prose, has been abandoned in favor of an obscure, allusive, tortuous mannerism. The arrangement of material is equally unsatisfactory. Passages of reflection, none too profound, are thrust between pages of facts; eulogies on national worthies, chosen indiscriminately from anywhere between the Crusades and the Third Republic, open and close many of the chapters. We could more easily spare them than the ten pages suppressed by the French censor, which apparently described the arrival of the American troops.

GEORGE McLEAN HARPER.

War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-1917. By General BASIL GOURKO, Chief of the Russian Imperial General Staff, November, 1916-March, 1917, Commander-in-Chief of Western Armies, March, 1917-June, 1917. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1919. Pp. xv, 420. \$4.00.)

GENERAL BASIL GOURKO, who belongs to a family distinguished in Russian military annals, was a division commander of cavalry when the war broke out. As such he assisted in the first Russian invasion of East Prussia, and made a remarkable reconnoitring dash within and behind

the German lines as far as Allenstein, destroying the Prussian railroads and yet returning safely with his men to the Russian side. He had a supporting part in the ill-executed Russian advance into the Masurian Lake region and explains clearly the reasons for the tragic disaster at Tannenberg. For his strategic ability, his great good sense, his absolute justice to subordinates, and his noble ideals of discipline he was rapidly promoted on the Russian west front—commander of the Sixth Army Field Corps in the campaigns around Warsaw; of the Fifth Army at Dvinsk; commander of the northern front; in November, 1916, chief of the General Staff in place of Alexeiev; and finally in March, 1917, commander-in-chief of the whole Russian western front.

Holding positions of such importance he is able to explain with authority how and why things were done which were only adumbrated in the newspaper despatches. This he does with the utmost frankness, simplicity, clearness, and insight, with often an occasional phrase which tells a whole story. He pictures the fine morale of the Russian troops at the beginning of the war, in spite of their great inferiority in equipment, their lack of supplies and supporting railroads, and their difficult strategic position between the pincers of the Germans in East Prussia and the Austrians in Galicia. He explains from time to time how the Russian and French fronts affected each other and how unsatisfactory during the early part of the war was the co-ordination between the two. He takes the reader behind the doors to hear the problems dealt with by the Inter-Ally Conference in Russia which Kitchener was setting forth to attend. He has in fact a delightful, simple way of taking the reader into his confidence, as if he were talking to a brother officer, in discussing all the moral, political, and military questions which he was called upon to settle. Without vanity, jealousy, or pettiness he bestows discriminating praise or blame without hesitation upon his subordinates or superiors. Even with such a blunderer as Samsonov, who was caught with two whole army corps by Hindenburg, he makes one sympathize:

Caught in the ring, although the Germans did not know it, was General Samsonoff and his personal staff. Night fell. Samsonoff, accompanied by five other staff officers, was guiding himself through the thick forest towards the Russian frontier. . . . Utter darkness surrounded them. The sounds of fighting died away, and all that could be heard was the trampling of the undergrowth and an occasional voice as the members of the little party called out to each other in order to keep close together. . . . General Samsonoff, who suffered from heart trouble, and found his breathing more and more difficult, lagged behind. There came a time when everybody had been called and all had answered but Samsonoff . . . in the thick darkness a search was made for the missing general. It was fruitless . . . later an artilleryman related that he had seen General Samsonoff sitting alone in the forest. He had spoken to the general and together they had continued their way. But with every step Samsonoff grew more and more tired. Daylight came, and poor Samsonoff, feeling it quite impossible to move a step farther, sat down

on a hillock and ordered the soldier to make his escape without waiting for him. . . . Nobody will ever know the terrible gloom which must have entered the soul of General Samsonoff as he sat there on the ground, unable to drag one foot after the other. The bitterness of defeat was in his heart and no gleam of hope was visible for the future. Who knows that his weakened heart did not rebel under the strain of this awful misfortune and that General Samsonoff did not die, in the most literal sense, of a broken heart? (p. 77).

General Gourko felt great loyalty to the tsar and gives a more favorable picture of him than most writers. In view of his loyalty to the dynasty there is all the more significance in his criticisms and suspicions, though very restrained, of the Empress Alexandra, of Rasputin, and of the whole disreputable crew with which they surrounded Nicholas II. After the tsar's abdication Gourko as commander-in-chief spent three months in an uphill fight to preserve discipline and morale in the Russian army. But the abolition of capital punishment, the election of officers, the continual appearance of agitators from the soviets, and the replacement of old and trusted officers by politicians was more than he could counteract. In May, 1917, as a last measure, he called a conference of the commanders-in-chief and with the threat of a collective resignation on their part tried to impress on Kerensky and the provisional government the necessity of taking serious measures to restore discipline. But his effort was useless. Not wishing to bear responsibility for acts of which he disapproved, Gourko desired to resign, but on June 5 was dismissed. In August he was arrested on Kerensky's order and sent to the Prison of Peter and Paul, and a few weeks later he was expelled from Russia by way of Archangel as "a person dangerous to the Republic".

From General Gourko's whole narrative one gets the impression of high nobility of character, of a man who is every inch a soldier and a gentleman. Telling his story in the first person with vivid detail and soldierly simplicity, he presents not only a delightful military narrative, but also a semi-official statement of great historical value. It makes the strong impression which simple truth about great things will always make. He dedicates it to his wife; after three years at the Russian front and the anxious days during his imprisonment, she left Russia with him and at once entered as a voluntary sister of charity a French bandaging detachment; a German 10-inch shell falling among the medical staff caused her death.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

History of Labour in the United States. In two volumes. By JOHN R. COMMONS, DAVID J. SAPOSS, E. B. MITTELMAN, JOHN B. ANDREWS, HELEN L. SUMNER, H. E. HOAGLAND, and SELIG PERLMAN, with an Introductory Note by HENRY W. FARNAM. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xxv, 623; xx, 620. \$6.50.)

THE publication of this work marks the completion of one section of the *Economic History of the United States*, a co-operative work planned nearly twenty years ago by the late Carroll D. Wright, working under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and edited by him during his lifetime. After his death the general direction of the institution's Division of Economics and Sociology fell to Professor Henry W. Farnam of Yale University, who contributes the editorial introduction to the present work.

The basis for the present work was laid in the preparation of the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, edited by Professor Commons and others and published between the years 1909 and 1911. Although many histories of labor in the United States may be published in the future, it is safe to say that their writers will not need to go for their facts much beyond those revealed by the researches undertaken in connection with the preparation of these two monumental studies.

The *History of Labour* is a co-operative work, carried out by students in Professor Commons's classes and seminars in the University of Wisconsin. The only part written directly by Professor Commons is a twenty-page introduction which gives the philosophy of the American labor movement and indicates the determining factors in the history of the laboring class in this country. These factors Professor Commons finds to be the following: (1) free land which made possible the escape from wage-earning; (2) universal manhood suffrage; (3) free trade within a vast area which gradually brought about the separation of merchant, employer, and wage-earner; (4) the struggle between the modern trade-union and the huge corporation; (5) the vetoing of labor legislation by our courts which has caused labor to rely more on trade-union action than on legislation to accomplish its purposes; (6) the influx of immigrants and the resulting problems of assimilation and Americanization with which the trade-unions have had to grapple; (7) wide fluctuations in prices and wages. The labor movement has followed these closely. Professor Commons thus epitomizes our labor history:

It is the story of how, in the course of three centuries, the wage-earner, as a distinct class, has been gradually, even violently, separating himself from the farmer, the merchant, and the employer, and coming to feel that his standing and progress in society depend directly on wages, and not directly on prices, rents, profits, or interest (pp. 3-4).

The *first* period in our labor industry, that which ended in 1827 and which is covered by Mr. Saposs in the present volumes, shows, of course, only the germs of organization and that in the hand-trades. Contrary to the usually accepted opinions it was not, Saposs concludes, the desire to protect its position as independent producers which led the artisan class first to think of organization, but it was the changes in methods of marketing causing an influx of cheap goods, which led the early mechanics to organize to protect their standard of living from the encroachment of the merchant-capitalists of early days.

The *second* period in our history when viewed from the labor standpoint is that of awakened citizenship, dealt with in this work by Miss Sumner and Mr. Mittelman. Coming into the possession of the ballot during the twenties and thirties, it was but natural that the workers should attempt to secure their ends by political methods. Shorter hours, sought in order to have leisure for improvement, public schools in order to have the opportunity for development, restriction of child labor for the same reason, abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the repeal of the laws requiring military service, were the demands of the period, which were secured in part, at least, because of the participation of the wage-earners in politics. Trade-unionism appeared during this period to have gained a firm footing, but the crisis of 1837 and the opening of the western lands postponed the full development of labor organizations.

The *third* period, described as that of humanitarianism and covered by Dr. Hoagland, brings the history down to the Civil War. It is an era of utopias. The "intellectuals", men like Brisbane, Evans, Greeley, and the Brook Farm group, assumed the leadership and led the labor movement away from class consciousness and into the pursuit of panaceas until it was brought back to the hard realities of life by the revival of trade-unionism in the later fifties.

The era since the Civil War is divided by Professor Commons and his associates into two parts: the *fourth* period, covered by Dr. Andrews, is that of nationalism, in which the strong national unions of to-day took strong root and in which modern methods of labor welfare were developed, and the *fifth* period, described by Mr. Perlman, which begins with the recovery of business from the effects of the crisis of 1873, during which time we have the entrance of modern socialism into this country and the first successful efforts are made to develop the organization of the laboring classes on a national scale. The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor represent the two different modes of accomplishing this purpose and, if the second of these organizations has shown greater vitality and a greater capacity for solving the problems which are the product of a capitalistic organization of industry than did the Knights, it must be admitted that up to the present time it has not met the needs of the unskilled laborers nor has it developed a programme which looks beyond the life of the wage system and sees the possibility of a new social order.

Space does not permit a comparison of the labors of the several writers who have, in collaboration with Professor Commons, produced this monumental work in the field of American economic history. Suffice it to say that while the work suffers in a degree from the usual effects of divided authorship, there is greater unity of style and mode of treatment than is usually found in composite works. One misses the swing and the restrained enthusiasm which are more likely to be present when a single author skillfully traces the rise or fall of some great movement, and is more concerned with historical interpretation than with the mere sequence of events.

Yet it is due to the editor and writers of the *History of Labour in the United States* to say that the treatment of the various portions runs closely parallel to the interpretation of the introductory chapter. This might, of course, mean nothing more than that the editor had waited until the various chapters were written and had then undertaken to point out the significant features, but in view of the fact that the same lines of interpretation run through the explanatory chapters of the *Documentary History*, already mentioned, of which Professor Commons was the editor-in-chief, we must conclude that the editorship of the present work was not of a perfunctory character, but that the several writers had come to accept Professor Commons's interpretation of the events which they chronicled.

M. B. HAMMOND.

A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present. By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, Ph.D. Volume III. *Since the Civil War.* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1919. Pp. 411. \$5.00.)

THE first two volumes of this work were published in 1917 and 1918, and were reviewed by the present writer in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1918 (XXIII. 860). The criticism there made holds good for the present volume; for the purpose, point of view, character of the sources of information, the general method, and use of evidence all reappear.

Briefly, the author essays to "develop an understanding of the forces that have been operative in the evolution of family institutions in the United States". These forces are mainly (p. 332), "the ascendancy of the bourgeois class, the dominance of a virgin continent, and the industrial revolution". His point of view still leads him to emphasize "pathological abnormalities". His sources still consist, to a large extent, of the *opinions* of foreign travellers or other writers, respecting the status of the family. Articles in popular journals seem to have a peculiar attraction for the author, and he makes large use of such periodicals as the *Independent*, *Outlook*, *Literary Digest*, *Chautauquan*, *Everybody's*, *Delineator*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and the principal monthly magazines.

His method is much the same, the citation of opinions of travellers, or others, whose knowledge was often vague, incomplete, or based on second-hand information, but nevertheless is made the basis for broad generalizations respecting prevailing practices or the status of the family. There is little effort to evaluate or test the evidence used. The general effect is to make this a popular rather than a scientific work, and to set forth the evolution and status of the urban rather than the rural family; to consider the forces which influenced the family living in relatively large cities, rather than in the smaller urban centres.

There are fourteen chapters, the first three on the white and negro families in the South, one on the new basis of American life, two on woman and the family, three on the child, family control, and the "precarious home", three on marriage, race-sterility and race-suicide, and divorce, and the last two on the attitude of the church, and the family and the social revolution. The main points brought out are, first, low wages and a rise in the standard and cost of living; secondly, the opening up to women of an independent "career"; thirdly, the passing of the control of the child to socialized public institutions; fourthly, the break-up of the home and family due to life in apartment and public hotels, and in boarding-houses; fifthly, the effect of urban civilization, resulting in the physical deterioration of women and children. All these forces tended to lessen marriage, produce race-sterility and race-suicide, and increase divorce, and, for the working classes, to produce conditions which hindered normal family life because of poverty, crowding, and the resulting effects.

The author believes that the real menace of the family is capitalism—"the relentless workings of the profit system"—and that only a new economic order will remedy the danger.

A new family is inevitable, a family based on the conservation and scientific administration of limited natural resources, on the social ownership of the instrumentalities of economic production and the universal enjoyment of the fruits, and on a social democracy devoid of artificial stratification based on economic exploitation. Such is the promise of American life, of the world life (p. 332).

In spite of the criticism offered with respect to its unscientific character and the tendency to overemphasize "pathological abnormalities", this work is the most complete in its field. It is interesting, illuminating, and, in the opinion of the reviewer, this third volume is superior to the first two, both with respect to the grasp the author shows of the fundamental forces governing the evolution of the family, at least in distinctly urban communities, and because the facts set forth are more convincing than in the earlier volumes. It is a work that must be consulted by the student of the general social history of America. A bibliography and a good index, for the three volumes, is appended.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

The Cambridge History of American Literature. Edited by WILLIAM P. TRENT, JOHN ERSKINE, STUART P. SHERMAN, and CARL VAN DOREN. Volume II. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: University Press. 1918. Pp. x, 658. \$3.50.)

THIS is a better book than the first volume, partly because the material is richer. It includes Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Holmes, Lowell, Whitman, Lanier, publicists, orators, and historians, divines and moralists, early humorists, newspapers and magazines, poets of the Civil War, dialect writers, short stories, and books for children, thus covering nearly all the greater names (except those treated in the previous volume) and most of the important movements and "tendencies" in American literature of the nineteenth century. There is also a higher average of ability in the contributors, some of whom are among the best-known professors of English in America.

Because of the purpose, stated in the preface to volume I., to make the work "a survey of the life of the American people as expressed in their writings rather than a history of *belles-lettres* alone", the present volume has much historical value. With varying degrees of success, the contributors have tried to present their subjects in relation to the broader currents of the national life. In the case of Whittier, Lowell, the poets of the Civil War, and Southern writers of the Reconstruction period, the task was easy, although it has not been performed with conspicuous ability. Even Poe, exotic though he was, is brought into some contact with American life by the discussion of his literary criticisms; and Longfellow's influence upon the national culture is clearly shown through his "threefold function of transmitter of Old World culture to the New, shaper into verse of aboriginal, colonial, and Revolutionary material, both legendary and historical, and lyric interpreter of the simple thoughts and feelings of an unsophisticated people". At times, indeed, the historical method supplants the literary; the discussion of Hawthorne consists chiefly of an exposition of his relation to Transcendentalism, and is therefore inadequate as an interpretation of the art of our greatest romancer; while the chapter on Whitman is little more than a biography. *Furor historicus*—or something worse—is responsible for a prolix account of Motley, who gets more pages than Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Lowell, or Holmes. On the other hand, one of the keenest disappointments is the chapter on Webster, by a distinguished United States senator, from whom the reader might justly expect a broad and thorough treatment of America's greatest orator—a treatment which should expound his political philosophy and discuss the effect of his personality and speeches upon our national life; instead, apparently because of an antiquated notion of what is appropriate in a history of literature, the writer devotes himself to elaborating and illustrating the truth that Webster's style has "literary quality". In refreshing contrast is the

chapter on publicists and orators (other than Webster) of the first half of the nineteenth century, which deals interestingly with the writings of Marshall, Story, Kent, Wheaton, Clay, Calhoun, Everett, and others, showing their relation to the growing life of the country. Much the same may be said of the chapter on American historians from 1783 to 1850. Two of the best chapters in the book bear the somewhat unpromising titles, *Magazines, Annuals, and Gift-Books, 1783-1850*, and *Newspapers, 1775-1860*; written out of fullness of special knowledge in comparatively unfamiliar fields, they throw light upon matters having close relation to general conditions both historical and literary. The chapter, *Divines and Moralists, 1783-1860*, is likewise excellent, making vivid such personalities as Dwight, Bushnell, Beecher, and Mark Hopkins. Much may also be learned of American life on its moral and theological side from the well-written chapter, *Books for Children*, which traces entertainingly the moral and esthetic changes in juvenile literature since colonial days. The student of history, no less than the student of literature, will find admirable the chapter on *Dialect Writers*, especially the portion on the American negro as revealed in *Uncle Remus* and other works in negro dialect. Less can be said for the chapter on the short story, which contains little of moment about either the form or the substance of this very significant literary type.

As a history of literature the volume has much the same faults and virtues as its predecessor. It lacks unity in method and point of view; this defect is to some extent inevitable in a composite work, but the editors might have subdued it somewhat more, and in particular they should not have allowed the chapters on Hawthorne, Webster, and Whitman to vary so widely from the norm. Inequality of style seriously lessens the dignity and value of the volume. One cannot expect all the contributors to have the sure mastery of touch that appears in the chapter on dialect writers, or the close-knit and solid, if somewhat heavy, style of the general editors and most of their better known collaborators; but no theory of editing ought to tolerate so great a divergence from a standard style as may be seen in the chapter on the New South, which is marred by elementary errors of expression, including such flowery mixtures as the sentence, "Not by any surcease of sorrow but by the genuine fire of a new vision did Southern poetry bud forth into a patriotic cry". The proportions of space allotted to different authors might be improved: some of the twenty-four pages lavished on Prescott and Motley might well have been divided between Whittier and Lowell, who get only thirteen each; Thoreau does not need as much room as Hawthorne; and if Tabb deserves three pages, Longfellow deserves more than his scant ten. When the other *dii majores* have a chapter and a chapter-heading apiece, it seems bad book-making to hide Holmes away in a chapter entitled *Writers of Familiar Verse*, the more so since his prose receives twice as much space as his verse.

The literary criticism in the volume as a whole is sensible and fair.

Some readers will think that Poe's tales are underrated, that Lanier's versification deserves warmer praise, that various verdicts on short-story writers are open to question, and so on; but in general the judgments are sound; and, if most of them lack originality and brilliancy, they are at least free from erraticism and hysterics. It is regrettable that room was not found for a more detailed treatment of the greater men, particularly a study of sources and a more penetrating analysis of thought and form. The most original criticism in the book is that on Hawthorne's relation to Transcendentalism, which pictures him as a cool speculator on spiritual problems, especially the doctrines of self-reliance, compensation, and the relation of good and evil, testing them by projecting them into his novels and seeing how they work there. The writer probably exaggerates Hawthorne's consciousness of the relation of his novels to the Transcendental philosophy. He is sometimes reckless of statement, saying that the love of Dimmesdale and Hester "never caused them repentance", whereas Dimmesdale's dying words refer to their having "violated" their "reverence each for the other's soul"; and, again, asserting that *The Marble Faun* shows "the evolution of good out of sin—not out of repentance for sin", while the character through whom Hawthorne expounds the doctrine says of Donatello, "His remorse, gnawing into his soul, has awakened it". It is, nevertheless, a novel and suggestive study, and the book would stand higher if it contained more like it. Yet the book as it is has much of value for students of history and literature, because of its general accuracy as a record of facts, its breadth of view, and its co-ordination of the minor and the greater things of the period into a loose kind of unity. The bibliographies, which fill a third of the volume, deserve a special word of praise, particularly the lists of dated contributions to periodicals.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

Colonel John Scott of Long Island, 1634(?)–1696. By WILBUR C. ABBOTT, Professor of History in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. Pp. 94. \$1.25.)

So that rogue finds at last a biographer. With a zest and a banter that lend charm to his tale Professor Abbott links together the episodes of the strange career that made the little bound boy of Salem lord of Long Island, conqueror of Dutch Guiana, adviser to the colonial office, geographer to the king, international braggart and bravo, spy and informer. But Mr. Abbott is a hanging judge. That Scott's evidence could twenty years ago be taken seriously by those who for England or America looked into the Venezuelan boundary he calls a "glorious restoration of his reputation". But the American investigators, identifying as Scott's the narrative printed without his name, pointed out, and repeatedly, his damaged reputation. They looked up in the British Museum

his manuscript, showed that it bears his name, printed in full the swaggering introduction which Mr. Abbott counts fatal to his credibility. If still they felt obliged to cite his evidence, it was because a witness need not be a saint. A clever rogue lies sparingly, and only for some end. Insight and good memory may be as precious as veracity; and to these, conceded by his foes, Scott added personal charm, experience as a rover, acquaintance with the Dutch. Nor is his testimony unconfirmed. Governor Byam's journal, indeed, Mr. Abbott discredits as known to us only through Scott; but Byam is else well known, and since leaving Surinam was governor of Antigua, quite too near the government to make forgery wise. Even as historian one could wish Scott's work tested by his sources; and some of us would still be glad to see his unfinished book in print.

That Mr. Abbott has brought to light all Scott's exploits is hardly likely. Even in America there is much unused that might have added color to his story. Though he scoffs at Scott's claim to kinship with the Kentish Scotts of Scott's Hall, he tells us nothing of that "ancient pedigree" which flies much higher and makes him son of "the Hon. John Scott, Surveyor General to Charles I." and grandson of "Sir William, Ambassador to Turkey and to Florence, who married Mary Howard, daughter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham"—i. e. Lord Howard of Armada fame. He does not tell us that the Downing (not "Edmund" but Emmanuel) in whose tutelage Scott came from England was father to that other adventurer, Sir George, whose yet more glittering career may well have helped suggest Scott's own; nor that the Quaker Southwick, to whom Downing bound him, gained leave in 1647 to "put forth said Scott for three years to any honest man", but found no taker; nor that in 1649 Scott was again before the court, this time "admonished for profane cursing"; nor that the pretended "Perpetuity" with which in 1665 he was scaring his neighbors was a royal grant in perpetuity of twenty miles square in the heart of Long Island—clearly the whole great township of Brookhaven. Nor is there mention of the cruises that justify, at least in part, Scott's boastful preface: that to Newfoundland for which we find him arranging in 1660 and which in London made him an authority on that island, or that in the Narragansett which led the settlers there to make him their attorney with the crown and which gave him the knowledge to outwit Winthrop. Nor, with all that is told to Scott's damage, do we find the testimony of his neighbor Giles Sylvester of Shelter Island, who in London lent him money and who, reciting his knaveries there, wrote home that "if the gallows hath him not he will rot whilse he liveth". But Mr. Abbott has told us much and told it well. Alas, his volume has no index.

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Life and Times of Stephen Girard, Mariner and Merchant.

In two volumes. By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1918. Pp. xi, 469; 481. \$5.00.)

THE appearance of a judicious, authoritative biography of Stephen Girard, mariner, immigrant, merchant, banker, and philanthropist, would be an event of large importance both to students of the first half-century of the history of the United States and to those who are immediately concerned with the prospective revival of an American merchant marine for the development of foreign trade. Since no such adequate biography has hitherto existed, the reader of these two handsomely made volumes will plunge into them with high hopes, lured by their title, by the reputation of their author, and by the varied and far-flung headings of the twenty-seven chapters which lead into West Indian trade, privateering, speculations in wheat and tobacco, shipwrecks, embargoes, Danish seizures, war-time finance, land speculations, and great public services.

The material for this story of a "bold and adventurous trader, taking great risks, suffering heavy losses, reaping rich profits", is astonishingly abundant and almost unworked by any previous writer. The Girard manuscripts to which the author of these volumes has had access number more than 50,000 pieces; 14,000 letters giving Girard's side of a voluminous correspondence are found in his office letter-books; some 36,000 letters from captains, supercargoes, bankers, agents, and correspondents of Girard in all the great seaports of the world, from the West Indies, London, Antwerp, Petrograd, and Trieste to Canton and Buenos Aires, reveal the material on which he exercised his judgment and laid his plans. Besides these there are the ships' papers of many of the eighteen ships which he owned, and of others which he chartered, during his long career. These papers are not concise, telegram-like reports; they are very frequently intimate, even gossipy, revelations of details of prices, currency, business methods, personal affairs, local and national politics, and the ups and downs of American merchandising and shipping in the uncertain and volcanic years between Girard's landing in America as a French immigrant in 1774 and his death as a merchant prince, banker, and landowner at Philadelphia in 1831. Withal they show the evolution of an ardent, thoroughly democratic American who placed half of his great fortune at the service of his adopted country, and who wrote late in life, "As to the land of my birth I am perfectly indifferent to it" (II. 393).

The use which the author has made of these surpassingly rich papers is more than disappointing, partly because he has chosen to tell his story mainly by abundant and ill-coordinated quotations from the letter-books and correspondence with men of the widest variation in competency, and partly because he yielded to the temptation to add to the title of the

volumes the two words "and Times", thus thrusting into the narrative material which is irrelevant to the biography and but very slightly contributory to the history of contemporary America or Europe. The defects of this method of writing history or biography, of presenting large masses of quotations from rich stores, have appeared in other volumes by Professor McMaster, but never in such aggravated and exasperating form as in the volumes now under review. The woes of a privateering captain on the Chesapeake in 1781-1782 are quoted at length (I. 37-48) and occupy almost half as much space as the organization and operations of Stephen Girard's banking house; reports of the same conditions and events are practically duplicated in different quotations, detracting from the unity and drive of what should be a fascinating story of commercial adventure, audacity, and success. Neither for biography nor for history is there justification of long accounts of the landing of Napoleon in France in 1815, written by Girard's correspondents in London, Bordeaux, and Antwerp (II. 296-298); of a two-page account of the battle of New Orleans, or of chunks of political hearsay about the British occupation of Bordeaux in 1814.

In spite of defects of method and of slovenly handling of material, these two volumes are a storehouse from which the future student of commerce and prices will get information, and, if the Girard manuscripts become available for other investigators, this preliminary presentation will be useful both for what it contains and for the leads to sections of the manuscripts which it furnishes. The resolution, tenacity, vigor, and resourcefulness of Girard as an early and great captain of seafaring industry are admirably illustrated in such chapters as San Domingo and Marseilles (about 1789), *Cargoes and Money Abroad* (about 1811), and *Capture of Good Friends and Montesquieu* (1813-1814). Alternating declarations of war and peace, insurrections in the West Indies, embargoes, epidemics, British Orders in Council, and Napoleonic decrees did not daunt him.

The portions of these volumes which most nearly justify the inclusion of "Times" in the title are those which deal with Girard's bank and its relations to financing the War of 1812, and with his co-operation with the government in organizing and managing the Second Bank of the United States, as in the chapters on the Bank and the Loan, Trading and Banking after the War, and the Bank of the United States; but even in these very little is added to previous knowledge of the operations of the banks or of national finance.

The volumes close with a brief statement of the settlement of Girard's estate of nearly seven millions of dollars, imperial for that period, and of his great benefactions to the city of Philadelphia, the state of Pennsylvania, and Girard College.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

The Frontier State, 1818-1848. By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE of the University of Illinois. [Centennial History of Illinois, vol. II.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 1918. Pp. [13], 457. \$2.00.)

THE second volume of the *Centennial History of Illinois* is in more than one respect a notable book. Appearing out of order before the first volume has been published, it reveals the scope and plan of a co-operative enterprise so well conceived and thus far so well executed as to indicate that the study of western history has passed well beyond the backwoodsman stage. Following the pioneer who first blazed a trail through the trackless maze of unassorted source-material for the history of the West, there are now groups of trained historians sharing a common viewpoint, conforming to the same high standards of scholarly technique, working together in close personal touch with each other in a spirit of cordial and sympathetic co-operation. Such is the group of historians who have undertaken the task of relating the events of a century in the state of Illinois.

The plan of the series is distinctly co-operative, an individual author being in the main responsible for each of the five volumes. The preface to the second volume, written "Somewhere in France", reveals the extent of the author's indebtedness to the general editor, to members of the Centennial Commission, and to an assistant competent to supply two entire chapters without marring the unity of the whole. The result is a book which might very properly be entitled *A Full-Length Portrait of a Frontier State*.

In the drawing of the outlines the perspective remains admirable throughout. Although some tediousness of detail in recounting factional controversies of local politics, or the bizarre experiments of frontier finance, could not always be avoided, the author nowhere loses his perception of the vital relation between state politics and the larger aspects of national affairs. Not only for an appreciation of frontier problems and conditions but for a sympathetic understanding of the Jacksonian period as well, it may be doubted whether the history of any state, unless perhaps that of its western neighbor Missouri, would prove so instructive as the history of Illinois. Situated at the crossroads between the East and the West, between the North and the South, and having within its own boundaries both a north and a south, the state was of necessity deeply affected by national policies of finance and tariff, public lands, internal improvements, and Indian affairs. It also caught the counter-currents of the slavery issue, and of those social, racial, and religious forces that have at times exerted so decisive an influence upon local and national development. Each of these topics is discussed in order, the arrangement of the chapters being logical and consistent without arbitrarily separating movements which could only be adequately presented in relation to each other. Thus portrayed, the history of an

individual state, while still retaining its distinctive local character, sheds new light upon many phases of national progress which have not as yet been fully apprehended.

Throughout the book, and especially in the admirable first chapter, the author manifests that true appreciation of frontier complexities which can only be attained through the laborious process of absorbing and digesting enormous masses of intricate and minute detail. The one serious defect in the make-up of the book is the lack of a satisfactory map showing roads, trails, rivers, and towns, upon which the reader might trace schemes of internal improvements in which the state was interested. An unfortunate misprint on the population map of 1840 reverses the legend, making the map read as if the most densely settled area were that having the lowest percentage of population. A welcome addition in forthcoming volumes would be an appendix showing the representation of the state in Congress and the term of office of its governors.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS.

Federal Military Pensions in the United States. By WILLIAM H. GLASSON, Professor of Political Economy and Social Science in Trinity College, N. C. Edited by DAVID KINLEY, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Illinois. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xii, 305. \$2.50.)

THE survey here presented of this intricate subject justifies the editor's characterization; it is "thorough, full and impartial".

The author sums up the subject matter of his research as the origin of our federal pension system, "its development, its application to our several wars, its administration, and its political, economic, and moral relations and effects". He has succeeded in producing a book which will interest and inform the general reader and at the same time command the confidence of the expert critic, who will find here ample evidence of candor and of thorough research, while copious notes and a bibliography afford guidance for more detailed study.

Almost exactly one-third of the book is given to a study of English and Colonial Origins and Revolutionary Pensions. This seems a disproportionate allotment until the reader discovers that the history of these beginnings shows in miniature most of the conditions which surrounded the passage and administration of later pension laws. Had the obvious teaching of this experience not been ignored, our Civil War pension legislation might have been kept more sane.

Substantially one-half of the book is devoted to a study of Civil War pensions. "Active or tacit support of the pension system has been based partly on a sentiment of gratitude, partly on self-interest, partly on indif-

ference to burdens that were unfelt" (p. 265). These three influences are carefully studied. American citizens find here cause for pride in the generous provision which the nation has ever been disposed to make for those who have risked life or limb in its defense. But the cupidity of claim agents, the broadening trail of fraud and corruption, the sully-ing of the ideals of the Grand Army of the Republic and the debauching of politics through attempts to capture or to deliver the "soldier vote"—these are phases of the record that shame us. The history of the Arrears Act of 1879 and of the Disability Pension Act of 1890 are especially impressive. That lavish pension legislation has been in large measure due to "indifference to burdens that were unfelt" is proved by abundant citations. In 1816, in 1830, and in 1836 the Treasury surplus was frankly recognized as the occasion for the new proposals; and at each of these times, as well as later, it was alleged that there was an intimate connection between the proposed increase in pension expenditures and the maintenance of a protective policy.

The abundant statistical material is effectively presented; there are some twenty tables showing the expenditures under each of the pension acts. A striking map (p. 268) shows the per capita disbursements by states in 1910.

The appendix contains a brief discussion of the war insurance law of October 6, 1917, and an outline of the provisions and schedules. This immensely important experiment in compensation and insurance marks a new era in the making of national provision for wounded and disabled soldiers and sailors, and for the dependent relatives of those who lose their lives. A reading of the record of the passing and the administration of our federal pension laws raises the query whether this law has been framed upon such just and generous lines that forty years after the end of this war a combination of fee-seeking claim agents and politicians will not again succeed in manipulating the "soldier vote" to their own enrichment and to the disorganization and corruption of American politics.

Fighting the Spoilsmen: Reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform Movement. By WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. vi, 348. \$2.00.)

THIS is a very timely and readable book by one who thoroughly knows his subject.

There never was a time in American history when the evils of incompetent and inefficient administration of public affairs were more apparent and the need of an honest and capable personnel in our governmental service more urgent and imperative than the present. With the great problems of reconstruction facing the country and the natural opposition of the professional politician to the merit system becoming more open and pronounced with the period of transition from war to

peace, it is profitable to call to mind the evils of the spoils system and to consider the long and bitter struggle waged by a small band of courageous men of whom the author was one, which finally resulted in the establishment of the merit system in governmental appointments as it exists today.

While not pretending to write a complete history of the civil service reform movement, the author describes in an interesting manner the work of the National Civil Service Reform League and of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association which came under his personal observation. One of the most interesting and forceful chapters of the book is the one describing the successful fight of the author and his fellow reformers in bringing about an investigation of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, in the early eighties. It not only gives a vivid picture of the spoils system in all its horrors, but also incidentally portrays the disgusting character of the vituperation and abuse to which the reformers were subjected by the yellow journals of the period. The fact that neither conditions similar to those then existing in Indiana could now exist in any state institution in the country, nor the type of newspaper abuse quoted by the author be tolerated by present-day public opinion, certainly furnishes ample proof that the world is growing better.

A most striking illustration of the evils of the spoils system in the national government is to be found in the chapters dealing with the investigations of the Census Bureau in the administrations of Presidents Harrison and McKinley. Impelled by the partizan desire to increase the population of districts controlled by the party in power and to diminish the population of districts where the opposition party was in the majority, gross frauds were shown to have been committed in different parts of the country by political appointees of the Census Bureau. In one county in Maryland for instance over 1166 names were added after the enumerators had completed their schedules. One of the perpetrators of the fraud, by the name of Guyther, turned state's evidence and testified that Ching, the party boss, told him he ought to get from 150 to 200 additional names. Guyther answered that he didn't know where to get them. Ching replied that he could go to the summer hotels and enumerate the guests, adding, "Are there no graveyards in the district?" Of 528 additional names retained by another enumerator, seventy-three were in Ching's handwriting, twenty-nine had been dead from a few months to twenty years, and 127 had never lived in the district. *In one case Ching not only enumerated a dead woman but also the Washington undertaker who had come down to bury her.* The federal grand jury in bringing in their indictment of the perpetrators of these outrages said in their report, "so long as such appointments are treated as part of the spoils of politics, the recurrence of such frauds and scandals as have been revealed by our investigation may be expected." In view of the fact that the Census Bureau is now making preparations for taking the

1920 census and the usual onslaught on the merit system is being made, the facts brought out in these chapters are very pertinent and instructive.

With the exception of chapter V. which is devoted entirely to the history of the Census Bureau, and chapter XVI. which deals very generally with Civil Service in States and Municipalities, the body of the book describes in chronological order the progress of civil service reform under the various presidents from Harrison down to date. It is interesting to observe how, from the reformer's point of view, each president in turn before his election made solemn promises to enforce and extend the merit system, only to yield, to a greater or less extent, to the pressure from the politicians of his own party. Each president receives from the author scathing criticism in this regard, with one exception, and that is his friend and associate in the civil service reform movement, Theodore Roosevelt, for whom he has only words of the highest praise. He emphasizes among that great man's characteristics, his daring frankness in thought, speech, and action; his utter fearlessness, his accurate sense of justice, his immense human sympathy, his prodigious capacity for hard work, his inspiring personality, and his practical nature—all of which qualities combined to make him a tower of strength in advancing the great and important work of civil service reform.

The author also refers in eulogistic terms to Dorman B. Eaton, Carl Schurz, and George William Curtis, all of whom were closely identified with him in the reform movement. The book itself is dedicated to Curtis in a beautiful verse inspired by one of the last sentences which fell from the lips of that great reformer. The verse is certainly worth quoting in full:

A kingly spirit and a vision clear,
A prophet's prescience and a statesman's mind,
A face to win us and a smile to cheer,
A heart that glowed with love of humankind!
His voice was music and his words were song,
His ways were gentle but his reason just,
Quick to discern the right and scourge the wrong,
And him we followed with unfaltering trust.
He wrote his "Mene, mene," on the wall,
Then passed, and lo! before our eager eyes
The spoilman's palace crumbles to its fall
And on the ruins goodlier mansions rise.
Too soon his voice grew silent, yet its thrill
Along the cliffs of memory echoes still!

There are annexed to the book as appendixes various addresses by the author on different aspects of the merit system.

America in France. By FREDERICK PALMER. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1918. Pp. x, 479. \$2.00.)

To estimate the value of such a book as this solely in accordance with the standards of a scientific review would be as improper as to

judge the worth of a passenger liner purely in terms of its capacity to carry freight. For, while the covers of this volume enclose no little solid cargo, the evident purpose of its author was not so much to fill hungry minds with knowledge as to take a great public for an instructive cruise, through archipelagoes of cantonments and headquarters buildings, along lanes of endeavor and training, to the land of achievement and adventure—from Washington in May, 1917, to the Argonne in November last. The cruise is eminently satisfactory. It is Frederick Palmer at his best, with all his keenness of observation, his gift of word-painting, his vigorous and varied style, and his extremely sympathetic touch. Interest is never lacking, continuity is admirably maintained, and the momentum steadily grows. The wayfarer has little cause for complaint, except perhaps in the lack of any maps or charts.

As for the scientific worth of the book, it must be remembered that Colonel Palmer wrote as an officer of the United States army, an officer officially detailed to present to the public the record of the Expeditionary Force in France, and, in part at least, officially supplied with materials. He wrote almost literally at the elbow of the commander-in-chief; and some, if not all, of his chapters were read before publication by members of the general headquarters staff. He was consequently subjected to the limitations which military discipline and censorship must impose. Nor were official limitations the only ones to be considered. Much of the book was written during the war, when the "morale" both of the army and the American public was a subject of the highest consideration; and it is questionable whether the nation is even yet prepared for an unvarnished statement of the truth. Any writer might well hesitate to make public pronouncement at the present time that the achievements of a particular division might have been more notable had its commander and his staff been more expert, or that casualties of a particular locality and date were out of proportion to the necessities of the situation.

As an account then, even on the broadest lines, of the organization and history of the Expeditionary Force, the book is of necessity incomplete and generally uncritical. But, if the author is a panegyrist, he is a discriminating one, distributing his praise with noticeable care. Let him who reads take careful note of many things which are left unsaid. Nor is it to be forgotten that Colonel Palmer employed documents which may not be accessible to students for a considerable time, and that he was an eye-witness of most of the events which he describes. In brief, he has not only succeeded admirably in his intention, but has produced a chronicle which will, sooner or later, be useful to historians. The time will be determined when we know how far students of this war are to be confronted, in Mr. Hubert Hall's words, with "the cautious policy of the State with regard to official secrets—a precaution which has served as a reasonable excuse for discouraging well-informed criticism of the immediate conduct of public affairs".

HERBERT C. BELL.

The Higher Learning in America: a Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men. By THORSTEIN VEBLEN. (New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1918. Pp. 286. \$2.00.)

THE reader must not expect to find in this little book a discussion of the past development of the higher learning, historical or other, in the United States, or of its present situation, or of its future prospects, or of the methods by which it may be made to flourish—save as regards the one particular to which its subtitle limits the book. It is a discussion of the trustee or regent system in American universities. As such, it is in part an historical work, which may be appropriately reviewed in an historical journal, for, with none of the apparatus of dates and almost no specific details, with hardly a direct mention of any one of our universities (though with somewhat too much hinting at two of them), Professor Veblen analyzes skillfully an important chapter of our intellectual and institutional history. He sets out to show us, in his usual ironical style, the evils that have flowed from that quaint system on which our universities are administered—a system to which there are few parallels elsewhere in the world, but to which we have become so accustomed that we hardly see how odd it is. Briefly, an American university consists of a body of relatively specialized experts (the faculty), ruled over by a body of relatively ignorant amateurs (trustees or regents), acting through an over-powerful president who either shares their point of view, their admiration for numbers and quantities and visible signs of material success, their crude zeal for competition with other universities, or else feels obliged to act for the most part as if he did. Such a system obviously imposes great difficulties and restraints upon the development of the higher learning in our universities. Mr. Veblen hardly exaggerates them. One has but to think of the board of trustees nearest to his own observation, and to ask himself how many of these business men, lawyers, “prominent citizens”, one would ever think of consulting respecting any matter of scholarship, apart from the interests of their particular institution. The probability is that, if we exclude from consideration the lower work of thesis-making, in the field of the higher learning our universities are, in proportion to their size, less productive than they were twenty years ago.

But some things may be said in abatement of Professor Veblen's strictures. (1) The conditions are not so black as he has painted them—there may be reasons why they may seem darkest to an economist. Like some other American institutions—the spoils system, for instance—the rule of trustees has worked better than theoretically it ought to work. These “prominent citizens” feel that they ought to serve the interests of the higher learning, and mean to do so, though incompetent to do it well. (2) Mr. Veblen assumes that the primary function of the university is to promote science and learning, and that all teaching, all care of undergraduates, all the work of the professional schools, are

secondary, are indeed improper excrescences upon its real work. But has a man a right, in non-mathematical discussions, to base reasoning on peculiar definitions of his own? Was ever any American university founded, or any university in the world long carried on, except primarily for teaching? And if founded mainly to meet the community's varied needs for teaching, it is reasonable that the community should be represented in the management, though *hoffentlich* by more suitable men than now, more widely representative of classes of the community, and contented to take a more modest status in relation to the professors than now, to co-operate and confer rather than to dictate or to "hire and fire" or to "back up the president". (3) Mr. Veblen exaggerates, as it seems to the reviewer, the extent to which the superior investigator is stimulated and aided by having to teach graduate students—as graduate students run now—and so underrates the rôle which is to be played in the future development of learned investigation among us by institutions founded for that special purpose. They are visibly increasing and are doing well. They may yet do more than the universities, for the advancement of learning.

But Mr. Veblen's essay is profitable reading—especially for trustees.

Woodrow Wilson, an Interpretation. By A. MAURICE LOW. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. ix, 291. \$2.00.)

THIS interpretation is based primarily upon two things, upon Mr. Wilson's book *Congressional Government*, and on his messages and addresses as president. These are so treated, the author hopes, that judgment will be an independent product on the reader's part. Perhaps it will be, but it will have to reckon with Mr. Low's own judgment of Mr. Wilson. If this estimate of the President, by an Englishman who knows his America better than do most of us, is the ultimate verdict of Mr. Wilson's countrymen and of the world when time has rescued him from partizanship and history has claimed him as its own, then his place is assured among the very few of the world's really great and the still fewer of these great whom America numbers as its own. To those readers who cannot see eye to eye with the foreigner, there will still be a satisfaction in the part he assigns American citizenship in the opening sketch of the morally awakened America which, aroused by Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Bryan, made possible the choice and work of a man of Mr. Wilson's type and training.

If one may interpret Mr. Low in his turn, one would say that among the books to which as a foreigner he was grateful for an analysis of American institutions and legislative procedure was Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*. He evidently knew it well, and when its author appeared above the horizon of national life this London journalist had in it a key to Mr. Wilson's methods and executive policies which our American journalists had never acquired. In the pages of this

book, conceived when Mr. Wilson was twenty-three years old, Mr. Low is able to find verse and text for the President's conception of his powers, within the Constitution, of initiating as well as executing legislation. The strong appeal of the book to an Englishman in its view of the President as a prime minister and party leader may be readily understood. Then came the amazing thing—that a student of the presidency for thirty years was elevated to the office; and, more amazing still to the politicians and quidnuncs, he proceeded to act up to his theories. He moulded legislation and shaped public opinion as had no President since the days of Lincoln. Congress was unhappy; Mr. Low was gratified and justified.

Another book I feel sure has been much in the author's mind as he has lived through these last years in Washington, and that is Lord Charnwood's study of Lincoln. It has not been his model, but to the detachment of a foreign observer he has added the steadying influence and perspective of Charnwood's study of another and utterly different personality who held high office in times of national stress.

The greater part of the book is a sympathetic treatment of Mr. Wilson's foreign policy. It is done skillfully, without praise or blame, but by bringing out in Mr. Wilson's own words the underlying ideas and steady purpose during the troubled years since he has been President. Both critic and friend can gain much from seeing the mind of Mr. Wilson and of America as this foreign critic sees it. In the one case not a section or a group or a party but the whole country, and in the other not an utterance here and there but a policy, judge it as you will, which was consistent from the first month of the presidency. To Mr. Wilson he assigns a great and conscious part in preparing America for war after 1915, a preparation of its spirit for the only kind of a war to which Mr. Wilson was willing to commit the nation. It is this view especially, as it is worked out in the chapter headed "The Evangelist", which will raise the most queries among contemporary readers.

The most marked limitation of the book as an interpretation is its ignoring the twenty-five years before Woodrow Wilson became governor of New Jersey, and its failure to use anything from his pen but *Congressional Government*. It would be easy to point out to Mr. Low many passages in *Mere Literature and Other Essays* (1897) that tell more of Mr. Wilson than the whole volume which is here used so exclusively. And a university presidency reveals more ideas of executive power than a book of any kind.

To discuss Mr. Low's book too nearly would be to discuss the subject, and it may not be the privilege of this generation to judge Mr. Wilson dispassionately. But there is no American who cannot with interest and profit read a foreigner's estimate of him.

MINOR NOTICES

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth series, volume I. (London, the Society, 1918, pp. 301.) For some reason not stated, the third series of the *Transactions* is brought to an end with volume XI., and a new series is now begun. The new president, Professor C. W. C. Oman, devotes his presidential address to remarks on the genesis and development of those false or exaggerated rumors, reports, and legends that are wont to spring up during times of military or political crisis, and makes the subject both entertaining and instructive, with examples from previous epochs and from the recent war (*e. g.*, Russian troops from Archangel passing through England, Mons Angels, etc.).

Nine essays follow. First, in a "survey" of the manor of Martham, Norfolk, drawn up in 1292, and now in the British Museum, Rev. W. Hudson finds interesting Traces of Primitive Agricultural Organization. In 1292 the manorial services, etc., were reckoned on the basis of a twelve-acre tenemental unit, the *eruing*, then much subdivided. Customary tenants, indiscriminately holding the completely intermingled socage and villenage lands, rendered light services. Domesday Book indicates a group of freemen as the nucleus of the later manor. In 1101, the manor was created, probably by the addition of a demesne and the conversion of freemen into manorial workers. The *eruing*, or land providing one-fourth of a plough-team, may perhaps be traced back through Danish times to the period of the Angle settlers.

Under the title "Wellington, Boislecomte, and the Congress of Verona", Captain J. E. S. Green discusses, in somewhat too labored a manner, the reasons for Wellington's acquiescence in Metternich's policy at the congress named. Madame Inna Lubimenko describes with considerable interest the Correspondence of the First Stuarts with the First Romanovs (*cf. American Historical Review*, XIX. 525-542). Miss V. M. Methley narrates the disastrous episode of the Ceylon Expedition of 1803. Dr. A. P. Newton describes the development of the administration of the English customs as part of the revenue-producing system, from the time of Edward VI. to the new epoch marked by the establishment of the Great Farm of the customs in 1604.

Mr. T. F. T. Plucknett's Alexander Prize Essay, the Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century, sheds new light on certain phases of the subject. The author shows how, in the Lancastrian period, both the great council and the continual council tried to subordinate the crown to the magnates—the great council by undertaking the direction of matters of general policy and finance; the continual council by contesting the command of the privy seal, and thereby of the patronage.

An awakening of English interest in the history of British doings overseas is shown by the presence of three papers in colonial history. In one, Professor Egerton, chiefly with the aid of Jamaica history, cum-

compares the System of British Administration of Crown Colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with that prevailing in the nineteenth century. In another, Lieut.-Col. L. S. Amery, M. P., who wrote the *Times History of the War in South Africa*, sketches the constitutional development of that dominion. In a third, Mr. E. M. Wrong treats the constitutional development of Canada, with a light touch, but with discernment and good judgment.

Mahan on Naval Warfare. Edited by Allan Westcott, Instructor in the United States Naval Academy. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1918, pp. xxiii, 372, \$2.00.) The book under examination contains selections from the numerous works of Admiral Mahan, giving his ideas of the fundamental principles of naval warfare gleaned throughout a long period of careful study. They cover two wars in which he was a participant and many other belligerent affairs, a knowledge of which was made known to him in minute detail by a critical examination of their records and by an association with some of the brightest minds of men who took part in them. Thus the editor of the book has given in one volume, of popular form, a work that Theodore Roosevelt said was the foundation of a new science.

The British naval historian, Sir Julian Corbett, wrote to Mahan's first volume, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*,

For the first time naval history was placed on a philosophical basis. From the mass of facts which had hitherto done duty for naval history, broad generalizations were possible. The ears of statesmen and publicists were opened, and a new note began to sound in world politics. Regarded as a political pamphlet in the highest sense—for that is how the famous book is best characterized—it has few equals in the sudden and far-reaching effect it produced on political thought and action.

This is the best epitome of Mahan's immortal works extant.

The volumes, some sixteen in number besides about the same amount of material in magazine form, which he has published, are not merely naval histories such as existed before he began to write for the public; but they are such treatises of which Bolingbroke wrote: "History is philosophy teaching by example."

Some of the cleverest articles ever written by Admiral Mahan were those published in the London *Daily News* forecasting Germany's aim in the conquest of the world by an expansion of the empire in Mittel-Europa, thereby controlling the route to Mittel-Asien. At the time this matter was but little understood by his own countrymen; but Englishmen, who have always been more concerned with the lessons taught by "the great teacher of us all", as he was styled by a noted Italian officer, than were Americans, took the admonition to heart and drew up a policy based upon his views which has been carried out in the campaigns of the Near East almost to the very letter. This explains the British occupa-

tion of Mesopotamia and the Holy Land, which to the unscientific mind has been an enigma.

In the preparation of the volume *Mahan on Naval Warfare*, the editor has succeeded in exhibiting the substance of the great strategist's doctrines on the science of war for the popular mind; and although it affords no specific treatment of the events of the present world-conflict, its general substance is applicable to the case, and the busy man as well as the student will find it enlightening. The public is to be congratulated upon being able to possess in one volume a work so necessary to a clear understanding, not only of the country's sea power, but of its foreign relations as well.

COLBY M. CHESTER.

Israel's Settlement in Canaan: the Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background. By Rev. C. F. Burney, Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, Canon of Rochester. [The Schweich Lectures, 1917.] (London, Humphrey Milford for the British Academy, 1918, pp. xi, 104, 3 sh. 6 d.) In this work Professor Burney attempts a new solution of the difficult historical problem of the manner of Israel's conquest of Canaan. He begins with a careful critique of the sources. In Judges i. and its parallels in Numbers and Joshua we find the oldest and most trustworthy account of the conquest. From this we learn that some of the Hebrew tribes were at Kadesh near the southern frontier, and thence sent out spies under the leadership of Caleb (Num. xiii. 17-24). This was followed by an invasion of the land from the south by the Leah tribes Judah and Simeon (Num. xiv. 44 = Judg. i. 1b-4a). The Amalekites and Canaanites then came out and drove the Israelites back to Hormah (Num. xiv. 45). In immediate connection with this belongs Num. xxi. 1-2, which narrates that the king of Arad took some Israelites prisoners, and that Israel vowed to execute the ban upon the Canaanite cities, if they should conquer them. They were successful, and fulfilled their vow (Num. xxi. 3 = Judg. i. 17). From this it appears that Judah and Simeon invaded Canaan from Kadesh, and that they were settled before the other tribes came.

Judg. i. 4b-7 then narrates a victorious campaign of Judah against Adoni-bezek, king of Jerusalem; Judg. i. 9-10, 20 = Josh. xv. 13-14, the conquest of Hebron by Caleb; and Judg. i. 11-15 = Josh. xv. 15-19, the conquest of Debir by Othniel. In all this nothing is said of Joshua, or of an united Israel, but only of exploits of Judah under tribal leaders.

In Judg. i. 22-29 (cf. Josh. xvi. 10, xvii. 11-13) we are told how the house of Joseph, that is, the Rachel tribes Ephraim and Manasseh, conquered their territories in the north of the land, apparently at a later date and independently of the Leah tribes. Finally Judg. i. 30-34 narrates the isolated conquests by Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan.

In contrast to this, the present form of the Book of Joshua narrates

a conquest of Canaan by the united tribes under the leadership of Joshua. This is a later and less reliable form of the tradition that is found in Judg. i.

The evidence of archaeology points in the same direction. The Amarna letters show that about 1400 B.C. Canaan was invaded by the Habiru or Hebrews. Seti I. and Ramses II. mention Asher c. 1300 B.C. Merneptah (1225-1215 B.C.) mentions Israel as already settled in Canaan. These facts show that some Israelites at least were settled in Canaan as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty. On the other hand, Ramses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty was certainly the Pharaoh of the oppression, because the store-cities Pithom and Raamses which the Hebrews built (Exod. i. 11 J) were constructed for him, as Naville's excavations have shown. The exodus cannot have occurred until after the reign of Merneptah (c. 1200 B.C.). Accordingly, some Hebrews must have settled in Canaan before the exodus, and some after it; that is, in two main divisions, Leah tribes and Rachel tribes, as recorded in Judg. i.

On the basis of these facts Professor Burney reconstructs the early history of Israel as follows: In the time of Hammurabi (c. 2100 B.C.) the earliest migration of Israel's ancestors into Canaan occurred. About 1479 Jacob-el is mentioned in Canaan by Thutmose III. About 1400 the Habiru = Hebrews invaded Canaan and occupied Shechem (Knudtzon, *Amarna Tafeln*, no. 289, 1.23; Gen. xxxiv.; xlix. 5-7). Seti I. (1313-1292) defeated the Shasu (Bedawin = Habiru) and also Asher. Under Ramses II. (1292-1225) the Joseph tribes were oppressed in Egypt. Merneptah (c. 1222) defeated Israel that was already in Canaan. About 1200 the Joseph (Rachel) tribes Ephraim and Manasseh left Egypt under Moses and invaded Canaan under Joshua.

This is a careful and important contribution to the study of early Hebrew history.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

A History of Spain founded on the Historia de España y de la Civilización Española of Rafael Altamira. By Charles E. Chapman, Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. xv, 559, \$2.60.) This is a serviceable condensation in English of Professor Altamira's large four-volume history. For the entire period down to 1808, that is, through 471 of the 508 pages of his text, Professor Chapman "has relied almost wholly on Altamira". Two brief concluding chapters, the Growth of Liberalism, 1808-1898, and the Dawn of a New Day, 1898-1917, are based upon other secondary works and upon personal observation.

There has long been a very real need for a single-volume history of Spain in English, both for class-room use and for the general public.

The present work is an attempt to give in one volume the main features of Spanish history from the standpoint of America. It should

serve almost equally well for residents of both the English-speaking and the Spanish-American countries, since the underlying idea has been that Americans generally are concerned with the growth of that Spanish civilization which was transmitted to the new world. One of the chief factors in American life today is that of the relations between Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic America. They are becoming increasingly important.

The writer wisely limits himself to the story of the development of institutions in Spain itself. "The development of Spanish institutions in the colonies and the later independent states, it is hoped, will be the subject of another volume." The proportions of this volume are, on the whole, commendable. "The principal weight is given to the periods from 1252 to 1808, with over half of the volume devoted to the years 1479 to 1808." It is to be regretted, from the point of view of those interested in present-day Spanish developments, that only thirty-seven pages, the last two chapters, are devoted to the period since 1808. The fact that Altamira's work does not extend beyond the opening years of the nineteenth century may in part explain, but can scarcely justify Professor Chapman's scanty treatment of the last 120 years of Spanish history.

Serious students of the institutional developments in the Iberian Peninsula, who realize that Altamira's history, though the most satisfactory of the general histories, is uneven and in certain periods, notably the Moorish, not always sound, will query Professor Chapman's failure to check up Altamira's conclusions by reference to some of the other standard secondary works.

An excellent brief bibliography and a very complete index materially increase the usefulness of a very acceptable manual.

France, Mediaeval and Modern: a History. By Arthur Hassall. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918, pp. 319, \$2.25.) With the demand for a new marking out of the proportions of history for purposes of instruction which the war has made, and which is felt in England as well as in this country, it was inevitable that many new text-books should appear, and almost equally so that so experienced, and on the whole so successful, a text-book writer as Mr. Hassall should make his offering among them. In his *France* he has not treated everything before 1815 so scantily as we may expect some books to do, but there is decidedly more modern than medieval history, except that the most recent period is not included. Out of 319 pages, forty-six cover all that precedes the accession of the Valois in 1328, and sixty-six more bring us to the Wars of Religion. After this point there are ninety-five pages to the beginning of the Revolution; thirty-six to 1815; and fifty to August 2, 1914. There is no account of the World War, and only four pages are devoted to the ten years preceding its outbreak. Almost the sole emphasis of the book is upon the facts of political history, which are simply told but with

much compression and without relief. There is very little explanation of the relation of the facts to one another, and almost no attention is given to the constitutional development or to the influence of the economic situation at different periods. In the Valois period for instance, the student will get no conception of the work of that family of kings in building up the absolute monarchy, nor of the really important commercial influences, apart from a bare mention of Flanders, in the Hundred Years' War. It is inevitable also in a narrative so packed with facts that many statements should give no real information, like the reference to Jansenism and Pascal on page 149. The book on the whole is a good specimen of the old-fashioned text-book, but it will seem to most American teachers not exactly the sort of history they are trying to teach.

The Holy Roman Empire in German Literature. By Edwin Hermann Zeydel, Instructor in the German Language and Literature in the University of Minnesota. [Columbia University Germanic Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1918, pp. ix, 143, \$1.00.) This Columbia doctoral dissertation is a creditable, though not distinguished, piece of work. It brings together in a convenient survey a large mass of literary expressions of opinion, prevailingy satirical, upon the character, policy, and achievements (or lack of achievements) of the Holy Roman Empire, from the height of the Middle Ages down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The dissertation would have gained in unity and precision, if the author had adhered to his original intention of confining himself altogether to satirical utterances. As it is, he has included a not inconsiderable body of comment friendly to the Empire, without contrasting this sharply with the satire directed against it; and the consequence is that he not infrequently produces the effect of an antiquarian miscellany rather than a truly historical study. Exception might also be taken to the selection and arrangement of his material. In the chapters devoted to the sixteenth century, for instance, Hans Sachs, beside Fischart the foremost German writer deeply affected by the religious Reformation, is treated before the section dealing with Luther and the other reformers; Rollenhagen's *Froschmeuseler*, which appeared in 1595, precedes the discussion of Fischart, who died in 1590; while Ringwaldt's *Die lauter Wahrheit* of 1585, which contains a long lament about the sectional discord undermining the Empire, is not even mentioned. Doubt may also be expressed about the correctness of the author's judgment in not a few instances. Otto von Freising, for instance, is certainly very inadequately characterized by a quotation from his *De Duabus Civitatibus*, derogatory to the "regnum Romanorum"; for if there ever was a fervent German imperialist, it was the author of the *Gesta Friderici*. Or, to take a more recent example, the confident suggestion that Goethe, in his description of the coronation festivities of Joseph II. which he

observed as a boy in Frankfort, should have been influenced by Hans Sachs's poem on the entry of Charles V. into Nuremberg in 1541, has very little plausibility.

In spite of such blemishes and shortcomings, the little book gives ample evidence of wide reading and is to be welcomed as an instructive and useful compendium of what German writers of successive generations have thought of the unwieldy and cumbersome political body which for so many centuries served as the pretentious symbol of German unity, but which had outlived its usefulness long before it finally crumbled to pieces at the onslaught of Napoleon's armies.

KUNO FRANCKE.

The Autobiography of Phineas Pett. Edited by W. G. Perrin. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LI.] (London, the Society, 1918, pp. civ, 244.) All students of seventeenth-century English history will welcome this new and complete edition of *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, which Lieut.-Col. W. G. Perrin has edited for the Navy Records Society. The original manuscript is preserved among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum and was used, in an inaccurate and incomplete manner however, by Samuel Pepys, when he published Pett's record in his Miscellany. There is a poor and inaccurate copy among the Harleian MSS. Colonel Perrin has collated both, and for the first time we possess a good reliable text. The editor has modernized the spelling, inserted punctuation marks, and in places completed the sense by adding words or phrases in brackets. He has provided an excellent historical account of the rise and decay of the Royal Shipwrights, of the Pett family and of Phineas in particular, and he has added several appendixes of original documents which illustrate and develop the history of the navy during the period and of Phineas Pett's activities in connection with it as a master shipwright. The editorial work is admirable. Accurate and meticulous research is combined with insight and judgment.

The autobiography itself consists of a record covering the years 1570 to 1638. Internal evidence shows that it was compiled from notes evidently kept with regularity, which were written out and elaborated after long intervals of time. Pett held the office of Master Shipwright to the Royal Navy and his manuscript throws valuable light on naval administration, on the financial policies of the Admiralty, and the practical interest of the crown in the development of a fleet. It will always remain useful for the student of maritime affairs during a period for which intimate and personal records are comparatively scarce. In addition, it helps to illustrate the chicanery of the naval executive, the by-paths of internal inefficiency, and the irritating jealousies of personal friendships and enmities which seem to have held the place of modern political corruption. The student of social history will find also much of interest in prices, wages, diseases, home-life, which have passed incidentally into Pett's pages.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774. By M. E. Monckton Jones. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. IX.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1918, pp. xvi, 359, \$5.00.) It is now nearly eighty years since the appearance of the *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*, "compiled from original papers" by the Rev. J. R. Gleig—curtly labelled by Macaulay as "three big, bad volumes, full of undigested correspondence and undiscerning panegyric"—called forth that brilliant but distorted essay which, directly or indirectly, has moulded the opinion of the great majority concerning England's greatest Indian administrator. Macaulay's chivalrous hatred of oppression and injustice, together with his fervid Whig prejudice, led him to accept all too uncritically the "coldly hostile" estimate of Hastings in James Mill's *History of British India*, as well as the hot denunciations of Burke, Sheridan, and Fox, every one of whom was greatly dependent for information upon the vindictive and aspiring Sir Philip Francis. Doubtless Mr. G. W. Hastings tried to swing the pendulum too far the other way when he sought to prove in his *Vindication of Warren Hastings* (1909) that "the man who made our Indian Empire and preserved it for the Crown, was wholly innocent of the crimes so often and so grievously laid to his charge"; nevertheless, though Hastings's methods may have been ruthless at times, he strove valiantly to relieve the distressed ryot, and during his two years as ruler of the presidency of Bengal he undertook to frame a land settlement, a plan of justice, and a reform of customs which bore enduring fruit.

To illustrate this less known aspect of Warren Hastings's achievements Mr. M. E. Monckton Jones has collected a group of documents—mostly hitherto unpublished—from the India Office and the Winter Collection in the British Museum, documents which he has connected and interpreted by a series of ten excellent introductory chapters. In them we learn all the difficulties with which the governor had to contend: the baneful Dual System set up by Clive in 1765; the ravages of the famine of 1770; the apathy of the Company concerning almost everything but dividends; together with the rapacity of the native rulers, tax-collectors, and agents. While no attempt is made to gloss over the sins and blunders of the European intruders, there are abundant evidences that the first state of India must have been worse than the last—in spite of the asseverations of a recent school of historians. Mr. Monckton Jones is certainly an unqualified admirer of Warren Hastings; but the material presented from the latter's own letters and reports cannot but convince the reader that he was a genuine reformer, endowed with unusual sagacity and patience. A glossary of Indian terms is a welcome addition to the work.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

La Conspiration de l'Étranger. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à la Faculté des Lettres de Besançon. (Paris,

Armand Colin, 1918, pp. 314, 3.50 fr.) This is the second of two volumes of essays with the common title of *Études Robespierristes*. Nearly all appeared originally in the *Annales Révolutionnaires*, of which Professor Mathiez is the editor. The aim which gives unity to both collections is the author's determination to destroy what he calls the "légende Dantonienne", of which Professor Aulard is the chief living sponsor. To accomplish this purpose Professor Mathiez draws upon the vast stores of printed and manuscript material for the history of the middle period of the Revolution in which he is one of the most unwearied and skillful searchers. Should he succeed in smirching the reputation of the Dantonists he would relieve the memory of Robespierre, his political patron saint, of a part of the odium which rests upon it. As this volume, like its predecessor, is polemical in tone, historians of whose opinions the author does not approve are made targets for unpleasant epithets. J. H. Rose, for example, is called "un historien bien pensant", as, it is added, are so many others in the English universities "encore imbus de l'esprit du Moyen-Age". The late Albert Sorel is classed among the "historiens patentés" whose official and academic honors have not sharpened their critical sense. Sybel was a "docte cuistre". Such characterizations may quicken the pulse of the Robespierrian readers of the *Annales*, but they warn others to be exacting upon the article of evidence.

The essay which gives the volume its title deals with the obscure quarrel between the Dantonists and the Hébertists. More interesting as illustrating the author's method of handling evidence is the essay on "Danton et Louis Comte". Here the imputation that Danton had dabbled in a conspiracy to restore the monarchy is based solely upon a tale written by one of the most dubious adventurers that a Revolution rich in such products upheaved from the depths. That the two governing committees, when they had concluded to destroy the Dantonists, made no use of Comte nor of his tale, does not appear to discredit either in the estimation of Professor Mathiez. The lack of real proof he minimizes by phrases like "Cela n'est pas douteux", or "Il n'est guère douteux plus". Fortunately several of the essays are of less polemical import and contribute more substantial results to the progress of Revolutionary studies. The most critical contribution deals with the origin of the twenty-eight bulletins published in the Dropmore Papers. These bulletins, it will be remembered, were sent to the British government by one of its agents in Genoa and purported to reveal the inner conflicts within the committees during the Terror. They are now supposed to be emanations of the genius of Comte d'Antraigues; "marchandise frelatée", Professor Mathiez calls them. He has discovered a series of letters which d'Antraigues received from one of his correspondents in Paris and which furnished d'Antraigues some of the hints for his fanciful developments.

H. E. B.

Geschichte Europas von 1815 bis 1830. Von Alfred Stern. Dritter Band, zweite Auflage. (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1919, pp. xii, 421.) In 1911, Dr. Alfred Stern issued the fifth and sixth volumes of his *History of Europe* and in 1913 put forth a revised edition of volumes I. and II. Now in the year 1919, with the war over, he gives us the seventh volume and a revised edition of volume III. In the latter work, which lies before us, the changes are few, except in those parts that relate to Russia and Poland. Here and there may be noticed the addition and omission of an occasional word, the alteration of paragraphs and punctuation-marks, the leaving out of a few sentences and foot-notes, and the inclusion among the references of books that have appeared since 1901, though in this particular the revision leaves much to be desired. The new titles, other than those relating to Russia and Poland, may be found on pages 177-178, 181, 186, 191, 193, 234, 237, 263, 378, and 401, though in but two instances has the text been changed to meet the demands of the new literature.

In the chapters on Russia and Poland, however, the revision has been more extensive. Many important books in Russian and German have been published since 1905, based on archival material heretofore closed to investigators, and of these writings Dr. Stern has taken full advantage. Among the works are Borosdin, *Selections from the Letters and Depositions of the Decabrists* (1906), Korobka, *The Polish Societies and the Decabrists* (1906), Dovnar-Sapolskii, *The Secret Society of the Decabrists* (1906), Semevskii, *The Political and Social Ideas of the Decabrists* (1909), Pokrovskii, *History of Russia* (1913), all in Russian; Schiemann, *Die Ermordung Pauls und die Thronbesteigung Nikolaus I.* (1902) and *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I.* (1904, 1908), and many memoirs of the Decabrist leaders. The new material concerns chiefly Alexander I. and Arakcheev, military and economic conditions, and censorship of the press in Poland after 1815, and especially the antecedents of the Decabrist movement, as found in the secret societies of Poland and Volhynia and in the spread of revolutionary ideas among the officers and soldiers of the army. Incidentally we are given additional characterizations of Paul Pestel and others prominent in the Decabrist uprising. The changes made in these particulars are very suggestive and informing.

In view of the conditions prevailing in Poland since 1915, it is interesting to note the publication of a work, *The Question of the Press in the Kingdom of Poland*, in Warsaw in 1916. It is also interesting to note the announcement of the publishers, dated January, 1919, that owing to the scarcity of leather and other materials in Germany, no bound copies of Dr. Stern's history can be furnished for the present.

C. M. A.

History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times until the Present Day. By S. M. Dubnow, translated from the Russian

by I. Friedlaender. Volume II. *From the Death of Alexander I. until the Death of Alexander III.*, 1825-1894. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1918, pp. 429, \$1.50.) This volume takes up the history of the Jews from the reign of Nicholas I. to that of Nicholas II. and discusses the attitudes of the various governments towards the Jews. At the end about seventy-five pages are devoted to the question of Jewish emigration from Russia and colonization in America, Palestine, and elsewhere.

This volume, like its predecessor, is largely an enumeration of false charges against the Jews, of the hardships they endured, and of the persecutions they suffered. The reader becomes weary and faint from wading through so much blood and hearing the cries of widows and orphans, and in self-defense has to close the book. The Jews are always the innocent lambs and the Russians (sometimes the people, sometimes the government, sometimes the church) are the savage wolves. If a Jew is accused, tried, and acquitted it shows that he has had a fair trial; if on the other hand he is condemned it proves that he was unjustly treated.

The reviewer accepts as true the facts as given by the author; with him he condemns the cruel acts of the government, and agrees that they failed in their purpose, but he protests against his unfair way of stating the case. The anti-Semites did not make the Jewish question, but the impossibility of assimilating the Jews into the social body made the anti-Semites. It is not fair to put all the blame on the Russians. One reform ministry after another, assisted by intelligent Jews, grappled with the problem of assimilation but without success. It tried all remedies but one, that is, putting the Jews on the same plane with the Russians; and that it did not prescribe for fear that it would give the former an unfair advantage over the latter. Whether the government's policy was good or wicked this is not the place to discuss; all that the reviewer wishes to do is to point out, what the author does not, that the Jewish question has two sides.

The following paragraph (pp. 358-359) gives a good idea of the author and his style:

There was reason to fear that the pogrom at Rostov was only a prelude to a new series of riots in the South. But more than two months had passed, and all seemed to be quiet. Suddenly, however, on July 20, on the Greek-Orthodox festival dedicated to the memory of the prophet Elijah, the Russian mob made an attack upon the descendants of the ancient prophet at Yekaterinoslav. The memory of the great biblical Nazarite who abhorred strong drink was appropriately celebrated by his Russian votaries in Yekaterinoslav who filled themselves with an immense quantity of alcohol and became sufficiently intoxicated to embark upon their daring exploits as robbers.

Die Politischen Probleme des Weltkrieges. Von Rudolf Kjellen, Mitglied des Schwedischen Reichstages, Professor an der Universität zu

Uppsala. Übersetzt von Friedrich Stieve. (Leipzig and Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1916, pp. 142, 2.40 marks.) This book is the result of a series of six public lectures delivered at the University of Uppsala. It embodies in briefer compass the conclusions reached in the author's earlier work *Die Grossmächte der Gegenwart*, in contrast to which it has both the merits and defects usual to public lectures.

The author's point of view is set forth frankly in the introduction as "Amica Germania sed magis amica veritas!" In common with most modern historians in Germany, he conceives of nations as biological organisms, the individual playing little or no part except in illustration of the operation of group forces.

In the first two lectures the author considers the political forces created by geography as applied to Russia, England, and Germany. He lays down three essentials for any truly great power: great extent of territory, unrestricted freedom of movement, and internal cohesion. Russia (pp. 9-15) is found lacking in the second, England (British Empire, pp. 15-22) in the third, and Germany (pp. 22-46) to some extent in all three respects. This analysis is fairly thorough and impressive.

The political problems arising from ethnic conditions are considered at somewhat greater length in the next two lectures. The author recognizes in nationality an historical force, but not "the last word in history". His analysis of the nationalistic forces existent in Europe accords in the main with the common opinion, though his bias appears in estimating controverted points. The principle of race as a force he regards as somewhat less potent, though also a factor. The critical zone of nationalistic forces is located in the Danube Valley, while that of racial forces he extends from the Baltic to the Black Sea between the Adriatic and the Gulf of Crimea.

The fifth lecture, on the political force of social problems, will be found less clear. Under this title he includes both the internal problems of industrial class conflict and international trade rivalry. The discussion is too brief to be satisfactory, and the conclusions agree with those of the German writers.

The last lecture is of considerable interest inasmuch as it seeks to contrast the ideals of the contestants. Against the French and English contention of a war for democracy, the author insists that the well-being of the whole people is a truer index of freedom than form of government, and in the former test he thinks Germany excels. He concludes that the philosophies of the opposing nations are in conflict—"A war between Jean Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant, a war no less extensive or bitter because Rousseau has as his allies Herbert Spencer on the one hand and his old antagonist Pobiedonostsev on the other".

The work bristles with quotations from a variety of writers and writings—too many of them of an apologetic or polemic type, and most of them German. J. W. Burgess is frequently quoted, but is practically

the only American so honored. Cramb is given more respect than is usually accorded him on the Allied side. Aside from the geographical and ethnic discussions, which deserve some consideration, the work is chiefly valuable as a presentation of a pro-German view by a Swedish partizan.

The American Spirit in Literature: a Chronicle of Great Interpreters. By Bliss Perry. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXIV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, pp. x, 281.) This little volume, beautifully printed and bound and illustrated with numerous portraits, covers the entire field of American literature. The author says that his task is twofold: "We are primarily concerned with a procession of men, each of whom is interesting as an individual and as a writer. But we cannot watch the individuals long without perceiving the general direction of their march. . . . To become aware of these general tendencies is to understand the 'American' note in our national writing."

The task was difficult, perhaps impossible, within so little space, and Professor Perry has not been entirely successful in it. The book as a whole gives but a vague notion of what those "general tendencies" are which constitute the "American note", and thus loses much in historical significance. In certain chapters, such as those on colonial days, the Revolution, and "Union and Liberty", the relation of American literature to American life is clearly shown. But recent tendencies, as reflected in fiction, poetry, and drama, are presented very inadequately; the sociological novel is hardly mentioned; Mrs. Wharton is passed by in silence; William Vaughn Moody, so significant both as poet and dramatist for his union of classic culture with the modern spirit of revolt, is barely named; Robert Frost, that subtle interpreter of New England character, and Edgar Lee Masters, one of the most powerful satirists of contemporary American life, are dismissed in two lines—while Mr. Riley gets a page and a half.

On the other hand the book is not all that Professor Perry's admirers might fairly expect of it as a sketch of American literature. Some writers, notably Charles Brockden Brown, are ignored, apparently because they are not closely related to the American spirit, although they are important in the history of the literature; while Freneau is considered merely as a poet of the Revolution—the phase in which he is least a poet. The discussion of the greater men, again, cannot be wholly satisfactory within such narrow limits, the narrower because of the inclusion of so many lesser figures in the American "procession". Even the skillful hand of Professor Perry cannot do justice to Hawthorne in seven pages or to Lowell in six. Yet surprisingly much is packed into every page throughout the volume; and almost everywhere the judgments are sane without being commonplace, while the style is uniformly pleasing.

The book cannot rank with the author's best work, but it is a charm-

ing series of essays upon our literature, early and late, as seen by a finely cultivated, thoroughly wholesome mind; and its chief value, as history or as literary criticism, lies in its expression of the reaction of such a mind to the American writers of three centuries.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

A History of Suffrage in the United States. By Kirk H. Porter, Ph.D. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1918, pp. xi, 260, \$1.25.) This book covers the entire ground from colonial days to the present time. Topics noted are the relation of property and taxation to the exercise of the franchise, church membership and theological opinion, voting privileges extended to aliens, residence and educational tests, negro suffrage, and woman suffrage. So wide a range of subjects cannot be adequately treated in the space assigned. Our author seeks to correct common and notorious errors and to supplement general history and other available sources of information. He therefore selects a few matters for especially detailed treatment. Only slight notice is given to the subject of religion as affecting the right to vote, while the ownership of land as a basis of the voting privilege, the ownership of other forms of property, and the payment of taxes in their bearing upon the franchise are traced with much care.

A good deal of space is also given to laws conferring the vote upon aliens. Some western states, the author notes, have even used the voting privilege as a means of attracting immigrants.

The most thorough treatment is given to negro suffrage, to which one-third of the entire book is devoted. The reasons assigned for this allotment are the existence of common erroneous beliefs, the inadequate attention found in current histories, and the present and prospective importance of the subject. Possibly, undue emphasis is laid upon the appearance of negro suffrage in the state constitutional conventions and state constitutions before the Civil War. This is followed by a particularized account of the way the negro acquired the right to vote and of how he has been deprived of the exercise of the right in Southern states.

While Mr. Porter concedes that woman suffrage is a topic in itself of equal importance with negro suffrage, yet he finds fewer errors to correct respecting our judgments upon it and a more adequate supply of available literature dealing with the question. He therefore gives to that topic but one brief chapter before the Civil War and one since that war.

High commendation should be awarded for the construction of so readable and enlightening a narrative out of conditions naturally confusing. The treatment of political theory involved in the franchise is not so commendable. In place of the ordinary reasons assigned for bestowing the franchise, the author substitutes the mere truism of expe-

diency. But in a free country somebody must vote. This is not a matter of expediency, it is a matter of necessity.

JESSE MACY.

The Royal Government in Virginia, 1624-1775. By Percy Scott Flippin, Associate Professor of History (P. V. Rogers Foundation) in Hamilton College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXIV., no. 1, whole number 194.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919, pp. 393, \$3.00.) While no further discoveries of great note are likely to be made in the field of American colonial history, there is much work still to be done in gathering and synthesizing the vast mass of matter brought to light by the labors of the present generation of scholars. In Virginia colonial history, Bruce, Stanard, Tyler, Alexander Brown, C. M. Andrews, Osgood, and the writers of single monographs, such as *The Legislature of the Province of Virginia*, by E. I. Miller, and *Justice in Colonial Virginia*, by O. P. Chitwood, have given us a pretty accurate outline of the history and institutions of the great Southern commonwealth in the colonial period; but many details remained to be gleaned, and there was a need, particularly, for a work which would cover the whole subject of colonial administration. Professor Flippin's *The Royal Government in Virginia* admirably fills this want.

The volume is the fruit of a very extended and thorough research. Books, the invaluable material published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, and the rich manuscript material in the Virginia State Library have been examined with systematic care. The arrangement is sound; chapters on the governor, the council, the House of Burgesses, the land system, the financial administration, the judicial system, and the system of defense leave no matter of any importance in the colonial administration untouched. The chapter on finances probably yields the greatest amount of new information, though many details have been added to our knowledge of the governor and the assembly. But this acknowledgment hardly does the book justice. It is a work furnishing an amplitude of information on administration in Virginia, drawn from the sources, well digested, logically developed, clear in analysis, and written with a proper regard for literary form. The author has held his material well in hand, and the inferences he makes are in nearly all cases temperate and sound. In particular, he has shown skill in weaving the vast number of petty items of administrative matters into a compact and ordered whole.

A good bibliography accompanies the study. A few titles are omitted, but very few of consequence. Slips are not numerous in this volume, and are unimportant. On page 105, George Sandys is spoken of as Sir George; he was a plain Mister. In the opening chapter, English Background, the impression is made on the reader that Virginia

was practically independent of England during the Cromwellian régime. This is the old view, disproved by recent research; it probably arose from a desire to flatter the pride of the later predominant Cavalier element in the colony. As a matter of fact, the English government of the Protectorate exercised a sufficiently thorough control over Virginia. On page 238, £1,000 apparently should read £100.

All in all, *The Royal Government in Virginia* is one of the best monographs in American colonial history of recent years.

H. J. ECKENRODE.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1675-1696. By Ralph Paul Bieber. (Allentown, Pa., H. Ray Haas and Company, 1919, pp. 102.) The history of the committees and councils that watched over the British colonies in America and their trade is now fairly well covered. The contrast between the knowledge we had of them in 1907 and that which we may now possess is striking, but it is typical of the enlargement of vision we have gained by dropping the habit of considering the history of colonial administration from the point of view of the colonies alone, and proceeding for a time to study it from the point of view of the government in London. With Professor Andrews's classical paper in 1908 on *The British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675*; Professor Root's paper on the Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1675-1696, in the *American Historical Review*, volume XXIII.; Miss Clarke's picture of the Board of Trade of 1696-1783, in volume XVII. of the same journal; Professor Dickerson's study of the same in his *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*; and now this present dissertation on the same period as that dealt with by Professor Root, the student can follow the whole story from beginning to end.

Dr. Bieber's book is distinctly a dissertation, and shows some of that want of careful attention to, and logical thinking respecting, the exact meanings of words and forms of expression that almost always marks the style of those compositions; but in substantial it is a good piece of work, covering with careful research the history and personnel of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, their organization and procedure, their relations with colonial governments, and their judicial action with respect to appeals from colonial courts.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, volume XIX. *Transactions*, 1916-1917. (Boston, the Society, 1918, pp. xvii, 480.) This new volume of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts has the same handsome appearance as its predecessors, the same scholarship and elaborate care on the part of the editor, Mr. Albert Matthews, applied alike in the case of important and of unimportant contributions. Of the 435 pages of text in the volume, a hundred are occupied by Professor Andrews's very significant and valuable paper on the Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement, which, as a "separate", has

already been noticed in the *American Historical Review* (XXIII. 705). Professor Andrews has now supplemented this paper by the discovery, and printing in this volume, of a "State of the Trade" which the Boston Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce drew up in the winter of 1763-1764 as a means of opposing the renewal of the Molasses Act. Somewhat more than another hundred pages are devoted by Professor Edmund B. Delabarre to Dighton Rock, whose history he is pursuing with more than German thoroughness. Early interest in the inscriptions having been fully treated in a paper printed in the preceding volume, he devotes the present installment to what he calls the Middle Period of Dighton Rock History—from Winthrop and Stiles to Dammartin, from 1744 to 1838—and sets forth, with abundant illustrations, the various descriptions and interpretations to which that patient monument has been subjected. Of the lesser papers, the most interesting is the editor's on Early Autopsies and Anatomical Lectures in New England. A paper by Mr. Percival Merritt on the gifts of King George II. to Christ Church, Boston, contains also many data on the early alterations of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer resulting from the American Revolution. An account of expenses of a journey from Boston to New Jersey and back, about 1688, is of value because of the itinerary. Thirty pages are occupied with a diary which Rev. Thomas Prince kept, throughout the year 1737. It was kept in a small almanac, with the utmost possible abbreviation, and all the abbreviations are scrupulously reproduced in print, together with the use of *y* for *th*, which last the reviewer had supposed to be no longer regarded as good practice. The effect is to make the reading of the diary unprofitably troublesome; when one has spelled out the meaning of "Tomy c^m 2^{ce} à Coll^s, & went back" or "Ys p I Begin with Mat. I.", he wishes he had won more by the effort. The volume ends with a record of the proceedings at the dedication of the Thomas Hutchinson memorial doorway into the First Church, Boston, proceedings worthy of that beautiful monument, including an admirable address by Dr. James K. Hosmer, Hutchinson's biographer.

The Old Merchant Marine: a Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors. By Ralph D. Paine. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXVI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. x, 214.) In this little volume, most attractive in appearance, the author gives an uncommonly interesting account of our old sailing ships and their voyages. New books on this subject will always be welcome, for the succeeding generations of young Americans must never be allowed to forget the glorious past of the mercantile marine.

Beginning with the earliest settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, ship-building, coastwise trade, and fishing were among the most important industries of the colonists. More than one thousand vessels were built in New England during the seventeenth century. Down to

1783 the story deals largely with piracy and privateering, and the perils to navigation incident to these pursuits; and the slave-trade is touched upon. In speaking of the number of Revolutionary privateers, the author, coming only to 1778, gives an inadequate impression of the facts. It might have interested his readers to know that during this war, according to the calendar of *Naval Records of the American Revolution* published by the Library of Congress in 1906, and other sources, there were doubtless over two thousand American privateers, employing seventy thousand men.

With chapter IV. the book enters upon the heroic age of our merchant marine, beginning after the Revolution and ending with the period of the Civil War. In spite of all difficulties—French decrees, British Orders in Council and impressments, and American embargoes—commerce flourished during the early years of the nineteenth century. The great race of Salem shipmasters and merchants, men who commanded ships around the world and then retired from the sea to the counting-room with a competence while still in their twenties, will inspire the reader's admiration. And he will be thrilled by the tales of privateering in the War of 1812. The voyages of the wonderful Atlantic packets and the still more wonderful clippers are recounted in a pleasing narrative, and the unequalled speed of our ships is brought out. The fisheries and the coastwise trade are not forgotten, and full justice is given the whalers, who are often slighted and even scorned by the more fastidious cargo-carriers.

The causes of the merchant marine's decline are reviewed. Some account of the latest period might perhaps have made the story more complete; the American deep-sea sailing ship was not quite dead at the end of the Civil War. It remains only to mention twelve excellent pictures of ships and men, a bibliography, and an index.

G. W. ALLEN.

The Eve of the Revolution: a Chronicle of the Breach with England. By Carl Becker. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, pp. xiii, 267.) There is no book with which the reviewer is acquainted which shows a more profound knowledge of the essential historical problems of the decade preceding the Declaration of Independence than does this small, unpretentious volume. Yet, with this strong, masterful handling of the great problems of the British Empire of that time, goes a charm in the literary execution of the work which makes it readable above all. It deserves to be popular with the lovers of good literature who take their history as a wine rather than as a solid, academic nourishment. Minds that hunger only for the dry-as-dust contributions to learning may still prefer the doctoral dissertation. Yet the thesis is rare indeed that analyzes so keenly, as does Mr. Becker's study, the problems of commerce, taxation, imperial organization, and all those economic and political questions

which help to explain the rupture of the British Empire. There are many marked readjustments of emphasis which increase the value of this new treatment of an old subject. That of the tea controversy is noteworthy. A vein of delicate humor runs through the discussion of even that desiccated subject, the British taxing system. A sly, ironic mode of treatment exposes the selfish yet natural tendency of English traders to consider their own commercial welfare rather than colonial prosperity. The analysis of the effect in America of non-importation is clarity itself, and by a gentle, pervading irony, it is rendered even entertaining. The author's account of Samuel Adams has charm, and insight, and sympathy without hero-worship, which is quite unequalled. The way he represents Adams laboring "at all events" to keep the people "meeting regularly to sniff the approach of tyranny in the abstract" is unsurpassed in truth and penetration. The author admits playfully in his introduction the use of one "literary device", and it may not therefore be out of place for me to call attention to another. The very skillful "literary device" of securing the reader's attention at the outset by the interesting and at the same time significant episode in the life of Benjamin Franklin, is a legitimate and successful mode of making history alluring to the mere reader. In closing, the reviewer wishes to warn Mr. Becker that it is dangerous to talk so favorably of the motives and views of the Loyalists. Only lately a representative of a somewhat Teutonic state of the Old Northwest has made the halls of Congress to ring with a philippic against the crime of teaching the American youth that there was any virtue in the American Loyalist.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Washington and his Colleagues: a Chronicle of the Rise and Fall of Federalism. By Henry Jones Ford. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XIV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, pp. x, 235.) The title of this book, though long, is somewhat vague and inaccurate. Who were Washington's "colleagues"? He had no colleague in the presidency. Was Vice-President Adams his colleague? Were the members of his Cabinet his colleagues? Or the leading members of the Federalist party? Or all members of Congress? Or, when the author says *colleagues*, does he simply mean *contemporaries*? Again, when did Federalism "fall"? The book closes with the failure of Adams to be re-elected to the presidency. But, if Federalism be the principle that magnifies the powers of the federal government, then Federalism, so far from having fallen with Adams, has, with but temporary checks, been growing from Washington's inauguration down to Federalism's crowning achievement in the recent preposterous prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

It cannot be said that Mr. Ford has given us truer conceptions of either Washington or his contemporaries than we already possessed. His view seems to be that Washington, while careful and methodical,

was not overburdened with brains. Hamilton, however, was the "Master Builder", incapable of either intellectual mistake or ethical weakness. Not so with Jefferson, Madison, or Giles, all of whom not only thought and uttered much nonsense, but were also guilty of "malevolence" and "spite" against the one and only Hamilton. Though admitting that Jefferson was just as urgent as Hamilton that Washington should accept a second term, the author imagines that, in giving the name Republican to the party which he organized, Jefferson was guilty of the "calumny" of accusing Washington of wishing to become a monarch. John Adams was not merely "vain, learned, and self-sufficient", but also incredibly "tricky and shuffling". As for Congress, the author cannot conceal his contempt for its "fuming and wrangling". The narrative of events during the administrations of Washington and Adams is rambling, disconnected, and incomplete, though usually accurate. It is hardly correct, however, to assert that fear of the American navy was the cause of England's finally abandoning impressment; the truth being that she abandoned it because, after Napoleon's fall, she had more sailors in her navy than she needed and never again had to resort to impressment in order to get all she required.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the account of Washington's carriage and horses, his barge, his costumes, his levees, etc. The volume contains a dozen illustrations and an autograph letter of Washington. There are no foot-notes, but there is a two-page bibliographical note. The binding, print, and paper are attractive.

R. H. DABNEY.

Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818. By Richard J. Purcell. (Washington, American Historical Association; London, Humphrey Milford, 1918, pp. x, 471, \$1.50.) Mr. Purcell's essay, to which was awarded the Justin Winsor prize in American history for 1916, has for its theme the revolutionary changes that took place in the social and political order in Connecticut from 1775 to 1818. Incidentally it portrays the passing of the colonial era and the entrance of the national era in New England, for Connecticut history is a fine exhibition of particular phases in a general process. Here was a task that called for judicial poise and sound judgment as well as minute research and accurate discernment in matters of fact. In all these respects Mr. Purcell has shown marked competency, with excellent results. He has produced an account of the religious, economic, and political changes which transformed Connecticut institutions, that is admirable in its style, complete and authoritative in its matter.

The work starts properly by giving the first consideration to that fountain-head influence of all great institutional change—the state of religious opinion. A series of vivid chapters, arraying a mass of well-sifted evidence, gives an account of the spread of infidelity and the

accompanying moral dissolutions, which incited religious reactions rupturing the traditional Puritanism and producing new forms of religious life. The process is considered in its various denominational aspects, which was a delicate task to undertake, but it has been performed with kindness, candor, and sympathetic appreciation.

Next comes consideration of economic changes—the founding of banks and the increase of capital, extension of commerce and growth of manufactures, the effects of emigration and the opening of the West, the improvement of agriculture and the introduction of sheep-raising. Then comes, in its proper sequence, a consideration of the change in the political order that is bound to ensue from social and economic change. A series of interesting chapters describes the rise of the Democratic-Republican party, the Federal party organization, and the reform movement that produced the constitution of 1818, whose characteristic features are clearly explained. This brings to a close with logical completeness a work that is a model of what an institutional history ought to be.

The appearance of such a work encourages the hope that some day the fact will be perceived by writers on the constitutional history of the United States that when they give merely a legalistic treatment to their theme they are only scratching its surface. Decisions of the courts are not nearly so important in constitutional history as they now seem to think, for after all these are secondary causes and the primary causes are to be found in social behavior, religious, economic, and political. We shall not really have a constitutional history of the United States worthy of the name until some one can do for the nation what Mr. Purcell has done for a single state.

HENRY JONES FORD.

The Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, an Historical Review, 1785-1916. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Boston, Riverside Press for the Society, 1918, pp. xv, 398.) In the days when the Continental Congress was setting bounds to the extension of slavery in the Northwest, a small group of men in Massachusetts organized a philanthropic society to lessen the number of lives lost by drowning. The Massachusetts Humane Society has continued during the hundred and thirty years since that time to carry on its enterprise of mercy, and from time to time has enlarged the scope of its activities. During these years reports have been published, and in 1845 a brief account of its labors was issued, but no elaborate history has been written until the present time.

The new history is a sumptuous volume in the best style of the publishers. It contains numerous full-page portraits and other illustrations. It includes one hundred and twenty-five pages of appendixes, containing such original historical materials as lists of officers and members and recipients of rewards, by-laws, and legislative acts. The text of the

history is in six chapters, setting forth the story of the founding of the organization, its early activities, tales of thrilling rescues rewarded by the society, and the extension of its activities and contributions.

Such a monograph as this usually contains considerable material of no interest to the general reader, but to the historian there are items of information to be found in this volume that are worth specifying. For example, the first life-boat constructed in America was built for the Massachusetts Humane Society in 1807; the society early in its history encouraged the founding of the Massachusetts General Hospital and the Boston Dispensary; by 1840 it had extended its efforts through local huts of refuge to more ambitious life-saving stations along the Massachusetts coast and rivers. The materials are used by the writer to the best advantage, and in its workmanship the book will be an adornment to any library.

HENRY K. ROWE.

A History of Indiana from 1850 to the Present. By Logan Esarey, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Western History in Indiana University. (Indianapolis, W. K. Stewart Company, 1918, pp. xi, 575.) Among the contributions to the centennial year's literature of Indiana, one of the most important was Dr. Logan Esarey's *History of Indiana from the Earliest Explorations to 1850*. Dr. Esarey has completed his survey of the history of Indiana in a second volume covering the period from 1850 to the present. The chapters and paging of the second volume are a continuation of those of the first volume, and the particular topics discussed are numbered consecutively through the two volumes. The first chapter in this volume deals with home, church, and social life of the people of the state in the fifties, with tables showing the population and illiteracy of the state in 1840, 1850, and 1860. The next chapter is devoted to Indiana Civil War politics; the interesting subjects of slavery, temperance, immigration, woman's rights, presidential campaigns, and the condition of the state government are discussed.

One chapter is devoted to the growth of the common school system and another is given to the development of collegiate education. An interesting description is given of early sectarianism in education and of the changing curriculum. There is a third chapter on educational history and the evolution of the state school system.

Indiana's part in the Civil War is discussed in one chapter in which is included the story of Morgan's Raid, border raids, the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle, bounties and drafts, the Indiana Legion, opposition to the war, the response to the call to arms, and soldiers' relief. Closely associated with Civil War history is a discussion of the Reconstruction period in the state.

The industrial history of the state is discussed from the point of view of railroad building, agricultural development, mining, and commercial development, one chapter being devoted to each of these subjects.

Political parties since the Civil War are discussed from the point of view of the Greenbackers and Grangers, the Populists, Socialists, and Progressives. A chapter on Indiana cities describes the early conditions, and the rise and development of the modern cities which has come about largely in the last half-century. Indiana military history is sketched from the days of the Civil War to our war with Germany in 1917, including the Spanish-American War, affairs on the Mexican border, and a general description of Indiana's military matters. The last chapter of the volume is devoted to "literary history", in which are discussed newspapers, oratory, prose and poetry.

A great variety of historical material has been used in writing the volume, including newspapers, letters, documents, and recollections. Thirteen maps, nine of them showing election returns, add to the interest and value of the book. The book is readable and excellent for reference, yet the treatment of individual topics is very brief. No bibliography is given and the index is very brief and quite inadequate.

The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado, 1869-1871. Edited by James F. Willard, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Colorado. [University of Colorado Historical Collections, Colony Series, vol. I.] (Boulder, the University, 1918, pp. xxxii, 412, \$3.00.) The colony at Greeley was composed of "proper persons" from its inception, and deserves better historical treatment than it has hitherto received. Upon these papers that Dr. Willard has brought together, it will be possible to build a picture showing how one fragment of the old frontier was reclaimed. It will be not only a story of transition from dry plains to farm-lands, but one of organized co-operation, and one influenced from the first by community enterprises, in the form of irrigation ditches. The years covered are 1869-1872; from the first advertisement of N. C. Meeker calling for associates, until the Greeley Dramatic Association, which could not "be beaten by any Amateur Association this side of the Wisconsin River", regaled its constituency with "the moral temperance drama of 'Ten Nights in a Bar-Room'". It was not a normal frontier group that produced these records; but here, as elsewhere, the frontier sample testifies to the social tone of the base from which its members were drawn. The Union Colony with its "three schools, ten Lyceums, a free Reading Room, a Brass Band, and Mason's and Good Templars Lodges", enclosed in a wire fence strung on 10,000 posts, is as illustrative of every-day American society as of itself.

The documents would perhaps have more instant value were they grouped by dates rather than by sources; but they make a valuable addition to the available sources for the history of the West.

F. L. P.

The Age of Big Business: a Chronicle of the Captains of Industry. By Burton J. Hendrick. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXIX.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. x, 196.) The entertaining chapters in this volume contain what might easily be popular articles written for the weekly magazines, upon the careers of the captains of industry—Vanderbilt, Carnegie, Rockefeller, McCormick, Bell, Ford, and the rest. Its episodes are naturally those of the last half-century; but there is little in the manner of treatment or in the organic arrangement of its facts to warrant its sub-title as a "Chronicle of America" or the sumptuous form in which it appears. A brief bibliography indicates that the writer is aware of the existence of a few other studies within his field, but does not suggest that he has made an exhaustive examination of any of them.

America and Britain. By Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, A.M., LL.D., Head of the Department of History, Chicago University. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1919, pp. 221, \$2.00.) For the last hundred years and more America's ignorance and misinformation regarding Britain have been abysmal. Even more profound has been Britain's ignorance of America. In each case it was due, no doubt, partly to preoccupation and partly to a kind of national arrogance. But since April, 1917, all thinking Americans have been trying to achieve a spiritual crossing of the Atlantic, and this collection of addresses delivered to British audiences by Professor McLaughlin is a sign of a similar desire on the part of the people of Britain to know more of America. The addresses were not meant for Americans, but for that very reason they have a peculiar value. For the necessity to interpret the spirit and aims of the United States to Englishmen has compelled an effort to discover and clearly present vital essentials.

The book has the natural limitations and merits of a series of lectures. Each address represents the suggestion and the illustration of certain clear-cut propositions which are designed to stimulate, to illuminate, to guide, and correct, not to carry an argument through to a demonstrated conclusion. Some of these propositions are stated with an obvious desire to puncture a misconception or a prejudice by a swift and awakening thrust. "The American Revolution is, on the whole, the chief jewel in the imperial diadem of Britain." It was "a creative incident in the development of British liberalism". Such statements are, of course, the "torpedo-shock" devices of a lecturer. But they have the merit of being essentially true, and they are quite as stimulating to an American as to an Englishman.

There are three positions advanced by Professor McLaughlin which are of peculiar interest to American readers. One is the absolute recognition that our political isolation has served its purpose and is gone forever, not from choice but from necessity. It conflicts "with the realities of modern life". As man must be social to be human so a nation must

be international, so to speak, to preserve its nationality. A second is the reminder of the profound political and spiritual change in Britain since the days of Lord North. "Nothing can be more humorous than to suppose that you can know Britain to-day solely by knowing what she was a hundred and forty years ago." The third is the enforcement of President Wilson's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in the speech of January 22, 1917—the proposition that the really permanent and fundamental element in the doctrine is the assertion of the right of all nations to self-determination.

The book is eminently readable, full of suggestion, obviously based on many years of thoughtful study. It is only an introduction, but it is a valuable and stimulating one.

CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL.

A History of Latin America. By William Warren Sweet, Professor of History in DePauw University. (New York, Abingdon Press, 1919, pp. 283, \$3.00.) This book, the first of its kind to be published in the English language, contains twenty-one chapters. Two of them treat, respectively, the Spanish and Portuguese Background and the Physical Aspects and Native Races of Latin America; nine, colonial history and institutions; and the remaining ten, the period of the wars of independence, and the history of the several states, their institutions, and their international relations. At the close of each chapter are reading references. There are three pages of illustrations, also, and twenty maps.

Unless a prospective writer on the theme is thoroughly familiar with the historical literature of the European languages spoken in Latin America, it is quite impossible for him to compose an acceptable textbook. What has been published in English alone is wholly insufficient as a source of information. The usual fields of history to which textbooks are devoted may be gone over many times and the gleanings therefrom worked up into fresh presentations, simply because a great mass of stock knowledge is available. This is not the case with Latin America. Here the writer who draws his material from the most obviously conventional works in English will have to wait until numerous special treatises in that language have been published, before he will be in a position similar to that of the compilers of text-books on the "regulation" periods or areas.

Were the present book offered wholly to that portion of the reading public which wants merely a more or less connected story of Latin America, no further comment would be necessary. But when Professor Sweet declares in his preface that his work "has been prepared primarily for students and teachers", the reviewer cannot refrain from expressing his regret that the appeal of the text was not confined rather to the "many outside of schools and colleges who are seeking information about our neighbors to the South". What students and teachers of Latin-American history still require is a handbook that shall be reason-

ably original in conception, logical in handling, and accurate in statement; that shall have maps and illustrations which are well chosen and executed and otherwise serviceable, and that shall provide reading references in such a form as to arouse interest to follow them up. The faults of the present work are not attributable so much to the way in which the conventional sources have been drawn upon or the materials extracted have been set forth, as to the author's evident lack of familiarity with the real literature of the subject.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Santiago de Cuba and its District (1607-1640), written from Documents in the Archive of the Indies, at Seville, Spain. By I. A. Wright. (Madrid, F. Peña Cruz, 1918, pp. 207.) This book consists of a short chronological digest of the rule of the first seven governors of Santiago de Cuba after the separation of this district from the immediate jurisdiction of Havana, and twenty-six documents bearing on the subject taken from the "Papeles Procedentes de Cuba" in the Archivo General de Indias. The first sixty-four pages are devoted to the preface, foreword, introduction, table of contents, and *annexa*, and the chronological sketch. The documents for the appendix are of widely varying importance and consist of letters written by governors at Santiago, by the Cuban bishops, and by *cabildos*.

The period covered is comparatively unimportant, and the sketch deals largely with the plans for the erection of the fortifications on the Morro headlands at Santiago, the actual erection of which was precipitated by the attack on the port of Santiago by Peg-Leg the Pirate, on March 15, 1635.

We may almost accept without argument Miss Wright's confession in the preface that the book is "unsatisfactory in every respect". Printed in Spain, with bad ink on poor paper, the book is unattractive to the tired eye of the student; the grosser sins of awkward diction, faulty proof-reading, and imperfect balance of historical perspective heighten the first unpleasant impression.

The work has a distinct value, however, in spite of these defects, first, because it is unique in its field, and secondly, because it makes available some very important documents. Document no. 3, a report to His Majesty from the Bishop of Havana, Fray Juan de las Cabezas Altamirano, is especially interesting. Bishop Cabezas was an unusually observant chronicler, and this report is an interesting appendix to his record of the first episcopal visit in the United States, published in the *Catholic Historical Review* (January, 1917, pp. 442-449) through the courtesy of the *American Historical Review*. It is to be hoped that the numerous typographical errors are confined to the English text, since the archaic orthography and rhetoric of the Spanish documents prevent the discovery of any discrepancies.

JOHN F. O'HARA.

La Revolución de Carácas y sus Próceres. Por Andrés F. Ponte. (Carácas, Imprenta Nacional, 1918, pp. viii, 164.) This booklet—composed of eighteen chapters and an appendix—was written by a scholar of Carácas who has made an investigation of the early Venezuelan revolt from Spain. By the “Revolution of Carácas” the author designated the separatist movements which took place in that city from 1808 to 1810. A large part of his study is devoted to a somewhat ill-arranged account of the events in 1809 and 1810. Chapters XIV., XVII., and the appendix contain lists of the Venezuelans and the citizens of the United States who participated in those movements, as well as in the ill-fated expedition of Francisco de Miranda against Venezuela in 1806. Chapter XVIII., which is all too brief, deals with the uprising of April 19, 1810. This treatise is based in part upon printed material which is available to North American students of the Spanish-American revolution. At many points, however, Señor Ponte cites manuscripts which repose in private or public archives in Carácas. The most useful parts of the booklet are probably those in which he cites or quotes from those inedited documents. His investigation is incomplete, however, for, on the side of the Spanish archives, he merely cites the incomplete catalogue of Señor Torres Lanzas, while on the side of the English archives, he depends mainly upon the material cited in the reviewer's *Francisco de Miranda*. Still, Señor Ponte has produced a helpful study of the separation of Venezuela from Spain which supplements Rojas, *Los Hombres de la Revolución*, at many points.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

Campanas Navales de la República Argentina. Por Angel Justiniano Carranza. In four volumes. (Buenos Aires, Argentine Ministry of Marine, 1915-1916.) This is the last work of the distinguished Argentine historian Angel Justiniano Carranza, and was left unfinished at the time of his death. Dr. Juan José Biedma, the director of the National Archives, has revised it and added some valuable foot-notes. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the period 1810-1828, and the lack of any index is all the more to be regretted because of the admirable documentation and the sense of scientific research displayed throughout. Of particular interest to United States students of the period is the information regarding the United States privateers who frequented Buenos Aires, and who rendered such valuable service to the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata in their struggle for independence. Much original information is printed concerning their efforts, as well as regarding the material assistance given by the United States in the struggle for South American, and particularly Argentine, independence. The efforts of Thomas Lloyd Halsey, of Providence (whom Koebel, in his *English in South America*, page 498, calls an Englishman), United States consul at Buenos Aires from 1813 to 1818, are outlined, and particularly those of William P. White (October 11, 1770-January

3, 1842) of Boston, the "Father of the Argentine Navy" Another Bostonian, for whom a street has recently been named in Buenos Aires, was Benjamin Franklin Seaver, who was killed while serving as second in command of the Argentine naval forces at the attack on Martín García, on March 11, 1814. It is unfortunate that the author did not make use of the various English and United States works relating to the period in question, and even a short account of the economic condition of the River Plate countries at the time would have added to the value of the work, which is profusely illustrated with photographs of rare portraits of the period.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

South America and the War. By F. A. Kirkpatrick. (Cambridge, University Press, 1918, pp. viii, 79, 4 sh. 6 d.) The scope of this small volume is not confined to the countries of South America, but as the author explains in his preface, is intended to embrace the whole field of Latin America. The book is divided into six chapters, preceded by a brief survey of the natural physical features and history of those countries, and contains a map showing Spanish and Portuguese settlements in the western hemisphere, as well as the modern republics that have grown out of those colonies.

The first three chapters, Political Currents and Forces, the German Outlook on Latin America, and the Economic War and Its Propaganda, describe the fruitless efforts of Germany to nullify the predominant influence of the United States in Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies, and permanently to entrench itself in the republics of the southern continent. The successive steps by which the United States has extended its sphere of influence among the northern republics are traced, and German agencies and methods for the promotion of good-will in Latin America are enumerated. Chapter IV., the Recognition of Latin America, treats very briefly of the attention paid to the cultivation of closer relations with Latin-American countries by France, the United States, Great Britain, and other countries. The author deplors the absence of any systematic effort to this end by the British, except through the natural channels of investment and trade.

The Effect of the War on the Republics is probably the chapter of most immediate and practical interest to the general reader. Some of the changes that have been brought about by forced isolation from Europe are shown, especially in connection with Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. It is pointed out that not only has there been a notable advance in the direction of economic self-sufficiency, but that all of the republics have been drawn into closer relationship among themselves. It is to be regretted that limitations of space did not permit of a fuller discussion along these lines. No reference is made, for instance, to the growth of the protectionist movement in such countries as Argentina

and Chile, and the effect of the war on commercial relations with the United States is virtually overlooked.

The concluding chapter on Pan-Americanism, the most significant, perhaps, of all, constitutes a protest against the idea of Pan-Americanism in the form in which it has hitherto been promulgated, and pleads for the creation of a broader union, which will include not only the United States and Latin America, but Great Britain, Portugal, France, and Canada as well. While the book is eminently fair to the United States, it is not difficult to perceive that one of its chief purposes is to serve as dignified, scholarly, and persuasive propaganda for the more active and intimate participation of Great Britain in the affairs of the Latin republics of America.

W. E. DUNN.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will take place at Cleveland on December 29, 30, and 31. Inevitably the programme will be in many respects different from that which was provided for the meeting intended to be held last December. A more detailed announcement will appear in our October number. The chairman of the programme committee is Professor Elbert J. Benton of Western Reserve University.

The Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools has held several sessions, and its various members have held an exceptionally large number of conferences with gatherings of teachers in different parts of the country. The committee does not now expect to publish its conclusions *in extenso* until some time during next winter, and after the Cleveland meeting of the Association. Meanwhile, however, it has printed in the *Historical Outlook* for May a suggestive course of study for the elementary and grammar grades, and, upon the basis of the many helpful criticisms thus elicited, is publishing in the June number of the same journal a definite outline of a course of study covering systematically the first six grades, the junior high school grades, and those of the senior high school. Briefly, work for the first six grades centres upon the making of the community and the making of the United States. That planned for the junior high school (grades 7-9), an important element in educational development just now, in whose work history and social studies are evidently destined to take a large place, is so arranged as to form a logical development, based on sound psychology, of the work given in the elementary grades, and to traverse the history of America and of the world in suitable mutual relations. A further cycle of three years, possible for the senior high school, will take up European and American history in a manner suitable for pupils whose preparation for citizenship can be longer. For details, we refer to the *Outlook* and to the syllabi which will ultimately be published, based, as all work of the committee has been, on co-operation with many teachers of history, as well as on the co-operation of teachers of allied subjects, and on the work of earlier committees of the Association.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dr. Justin H. Smith chairman, has sent to the Government Printing Office the important *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren* (running to about 1830), to constitute vol. II. of the Association's *Annual Report* for 1918.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

With the ending of the war, the work of this war-time organization comes to an end. The vice-chairman, Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon, has in the last three months been almost entirely occupied with the work of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in Schools, which in February became, with some enlargement, a committee of the American Historical Association. A comprehensive account of the work of the Board will at some future time appear in the *Annual Report* of that Association.

One of the most important branches of the Board's service, insufficiently described in war time, has been the exploitation of practically complete files of a score of German newspapers, steadily received by the Board, by special means, through the whole period since the entrance of the United States into the war. With the conclusion of peace this work will be suspended. Dr. Victor S. Clark, who for the last seventeen months has been in charge of it, has maintained a constant supply, to the appropriate government offices, of translated extracts from these newspapers, comprising whatever would be most serviceable to each such office. It is now possible to announce that the Library of Congress and some eight or ten other of the chief libraries of the country will be furnished with complete sets of this material, each such set ultimately embracing more than 20,000 sheets of typewritten matter, of the greatest value to the history of the war as viewed in Germany. Much material relating to earlier periods has also been appearing in these German papers of late: as, for instance, the letters of Emperor William to the Emperor Francis Joseph upon the dismissal of Bismarck.

PERSONAL

Henry Morse Stephens, head of the department of history in the University of California since 1902, president of the American Historical Association in 1915, and a member of the Board of Editors of this journal from its foundation in 1895 to 1905, died suddenly on April 16. Born in England in 1857, he was educated at Haileybury and at Balliol College, Oxford, and for a time was occupied with journalistic writing, mostly relating to India and to modern history. From 1892 to 1894 he was lecturer in Indian history at Cambridge. In 1894 he came to America, as professor of modern European history in Cornell University, where he taught for eight years. His breadth of view, his intense interest in the history of the British Empire and its relations, the power of statement and of imagination by which he made modern history vivid to undergraduate minds, immediately gave his teaching fame and influence in America, while his genial social traits, his talent for friendship, and his gift of entertaining speech, speedily brought him a position of prominence among the members of the historical profession. He contributed actively and most generously to the foundation of this journal,

and a year or two later was of great service to the American Historical Association in a critical time. He had the keenest interest in the Association, and from the time when he came to America attended almost every annual meeting. In California, delighting in the state and its life, he not only built up a strong department of history in the university and fostered there the active study of California history, but did much useful work in spreading interest in history throughout the state. After earlier writings on *The Story of Portugal* and on *Albuquerque*, he had published in 1886 the first volume of a *History of the French Revolution*, which, with points of view new to the English-speaking public, new researches, and an unusual command of the recent French literature of the subject, bade fair to displace at last the classical narrative of Carlyle. A second volume appeared in 1892, but the work was never finished. The best of Stephens's work, however, lay always in the training of a group of specially devoted students, on whom he lavished time and thought and the inexhaustible riches of his friendship.

Sir John Pentland Mahaffy, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and formerly professor of ancient history and president of the Royal Irish Academy, died on April 30, at the age of eighty. He had published many admirable books, chiefly relating to Greek history, especially in the "silver" ages. The chief of them were *Prolegomena to Ancient History* (1871); *Greek Social Life from Homer to Menander* (1874); *History of Classical Greek Literature* (1880); *Greek Life and Thought from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (1887); *The Greek World under Roman Sway* (1890); and *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (1896). All were marked by an extraordinary combination of wide learning, ingenious thinking, keen literary appreciation, and captivating style. He was a man of varied accomplishments, who had excelled in cricket, rifle-shooting, salmon-fishing, and music, as well as in Greek scholarship. The charm of his friendship and conversation, of his warmth of heart and Irish wit, was irresistible.

Professor Max Farrand of Yale University has been granted leave of absence for the coming academic year and will act as general director of the Commonwealth Fund, a new philanthropic foundation established in New York City. Associate-professor Edgar E. Robinson of Stanford University will carry on his work during his absence. Mr. Robert H. George has been advanced to an assistant professorship.

At Columbia University Professor J. H. Robinson, after twenty-five years' service in the department of history, resigns his chair to connect himself with the Independent School of Social Research. Professor J. T. Shotwell will be on leave of absence for the next academic year and will be engaged in the work of the Carnegie Peace Endowment. Dr. C. J. H. Hayes has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history, Dr. R. L. Schuyler from assistant professor to associate professor. Professor Henry Johnson will be on leave of absence

throughout the next academic year. Dr. D. R. Fox becomes assistant professor of history.

At Princeton, Professor McElroy, after three years' absence, one year in China and two in the work of the National Security League, will return next fall to the department of history, as will also Professor Paul Van Dyke, who has been absent for two years at the American University Union in Paris.

In April Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago was lecturer at Wesleyan University on the George Slocum Bennett foundation. He delivered a course of six lectures on *Some Steps in the Development of American Democracy*. The lectures are to be published by the university in the fall.

Dr. Conyers Read of the University of Chicago has been promoted to be professor of history, and Dr. Arthur P. Scott to be assistant professor.

Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher of Washington University, St. Louis, has been promoted from assistant to associate professor of history; Dr. Carl Stephenson of the same institution, from instructor to assistant professor of history.

Professor William Trimble of the North Dakota Agricultural College has accepted an invitation to become professor of American history in the University of Idaho.

In the University of Colorado Dr. Thomas M. Marshall and Dr. Carl C. Eckhardt have been made associate professors of history.

In the University of California Professor H. E. Bolton has been made acting head of the department of history, Dr. E. I. McCormac professor of American history, Dr. L. J. Paetow professor of medieval history, Dr. C. E. Chapman associate professor of Latin-American and California history.

Dr. Percy A. Martin has been promoted to an associate professorship in Stanford University. Reginald G. Trotter of Harvard has been elected assistant professor to teach English history in succession to Professor Cannon, and Canadian history.

In the summer schools of the various universities, the following professors external to the regular staffs will be giving instruction in history: at Columbia, R. W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary and R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins; at the Johns Hopkins University, J. M. Callahan of West Virginia; at Ohio State University, W. H. Allison of Colgate; at Chicago, I. J. Cox of Cincinnati, E. M. Hulme of Idaho, and W. E. Lingelbach of Pennsylvania; at the University of Wisconsin, D. C. Munro of Princeton; at the University of Texas, C. S. Boucher of Washington University, R. P. Brooks of Georgia, L. M. Larson of

Illinois, and T. M. Marshall of Colorado; at the University of California, W. M. Sloane of Columbia and Edgar Dawson of Hunter College.

GENERAL

A notable addition to the sixpenny series of *Helps for Students of History* which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is now publishing is *The Logic of History* (pp. 61) by C. G. Crump, a simple and remarkably comprehensive introduction to historical method. It should be of value not merely to the beginning historian but to the reader of history and to the secondary-school teacher. The university teacher of historical method also will find in it useful suggestions.

Mr. William R. Thayer gave this spring the Colver lectures in Brown University. The three discourses have been printed by the Houghton Mifflin Company under the title *Democracy: Discipline: Peace* (pp. 124), the object of his discussion being to compare democracy with other forms of government in respect to its ideals, its practices, its influence upon the education of human nature, and its tendencies with respect to militarism or the preservation of peace.

History for April has a paper on the Monroe Doctrine by the editor, Professor A. F. Pollard, one on the study of Russian history, by Sir Bernard Pares, and an anonymous paper on the problem of Dalmatia. The discussion of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Brut Tysilio*, by Dr. R. W. Chambers and Professor Flinders Petrie, is continued.

Under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles, a Congrès Français de la Syrie was held last January. The *Séances et Travaux* of its section of archaeology, history, geography, and ethnography has already appeared (Paris, Champion, pp. 252) and contains several papers of great learning and value and a variety of interesting notes respecting the historical relations between France and Syria. Especially noteworthy are papers of Professor Louis Bréhier of Clermont-Ferrand on the origin and nature of Charlemagne's protectorate in Syria; of Professor Eugène Duprat of Marseilles on the relations between Provence and the Levant from the fifth century to the Crusades; of Abbé Arnaud d'Agnel on the relations between Provence and the Orient in matters of art and artistic industries; and of Professor F. Macler, of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, on the history of the Armenians in Syria and in Palestine.

A volume of *Wissenschaftliche Vorträge gehalten auf Veranlassung Seiner Excellenz des Herrn Generalgouverneurs Generalobersten Hans von Beseler in Warschau in den Kriegsjahren 1916-17* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1918, pp. vii, 273), edited by Professor W. Paszkowski, contains fourteen articles and essays by leading German historical scholars, including one on Alexander the Great by Wilamowitz-Möllendorff; one on Oriental and Occidental civilization by Harnack, one on Ger-

manentum and the Church in the Middle Ages and one on Rome and Constantinople by Pfeilschifter, one on German power and civilization in the Baltic lands by Haller, one on Catherine II. by Schiemann, and one on Islam's *Weltanschauung* in Past and Present by Becker.

The Freedom of the Seas, by Miss Louise F. Brown, treats the subject in both its historical and its legal aspects, but in historical order (Dutton).

The World Peace Foundation publishes a brief pamphlet on *Great Britain, America, and Democracy*, by the expert hand of Professor E. D. Adams.

The Journal of Negro History for April opens with a paper by Robert E. Park on the Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro; but the main portion of the contents, 98 pages in fact, is given over to a scholarly and singularly valuable paper by Professor George F. Zook of Pennsylvania State College on the "Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa", 1660-1672, the predecessor of the Royal African Company, 1672-1752, on which latter Professor Zook promises to publish a subsequent monograph. The present paper, based on thorough research, fills most adequately a notable gap in history, important to the history of slavery in English America.

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: T. Lenschau, *Bericht über Griechische Geschichte, 1907-1914* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXIV. 7); J. Toutain, *Antiquités Romaines, 1915-1918*, I. (Revue Historique, January); A. Rosenberg, *Bericht über Römische Staatsaltertümer, 1902-1916* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXIV. 7).

It is, we presume, not too late to call attention to the remarkable paper by Professor Friedrich Hrozný of Vienna in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* for December, 1915, published later, in which he sets forth his sensational conclusions respecting the Hittite speech—briefly, that it was Indo-European, of the *centum* variety, allied to Latin and to Tocharish. These conclusions appear to be approved by most philologists, and the way seems open for great increase of knowledge of early Oriental history, through the Boghazkeui archives and other deposits.

In part XIII. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt (Egypt Exploration Fund), the principal matter is a body of fragments of a roll containing that portion of the lost history of Ephorus which dealt with the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. It contains a moderate amount of additional historical information and will help, after further study, to decide the interesting problem of the authorship of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.

Messrs. Allen and Unwin have just published Professor Gilbert Murray's Creighton Lecture of 1918, entitled *Aristophanes and the War Party: a Study in the Contemporary Criticism of the Peloponnesian War*.

Professor William D. Gray of Smith College contributes to the *Smith College Studies in History*, as no. 3 of vol. IV., a learned *Study of the Life of Hadrian prior to his Accession*, intended as a preliminary to a life of that emperor.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Moret, *L'Écriture Hiéroglyphique en Égypte* (Scientia, February); B. Meissner, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zum Hattireiche nach Hattischen Quellen* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXII. 1); F. Thureau-Dangin, *La Chronologie de la Dynastie de Larsa* (Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale, XV. 1); A. Ungnad, *Die Synchronistischen Königslisten aus Assur* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXII. 3); A. Debrunner, *Die Besiedlung des Alten Griechenlandes im Licht der Sprachwissenschaft* (Neue Jahrbücher, XLI. 10); P. Cloché, *L'Affaire des Arginuses, 406 av. J.-C.* (Revue Historique, January); E. Meyer, *Vorläufer des Weltkriegs im Altertum* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, IV.); Tenney Frank, *Agriculture in Early Latium* (American Economic Review, June).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A small but useful partial bibliography of church history, from a Catholic point of view, by Father F. S. Betten, S. J., appears as the February *Bulletin* of the Catholic Educational Association.

Dr. Prosper Alfarc is the author of two volumes important for the history of the development of religious thought in the early Christian centuries, one on *Les Écritures Manichéennes, leur Constitution, leur Histoire, Étude Analytique* (Paris, Nourry, 1919, 2 vols., pp. iv, 154, 240), and one on *L'Évolution Intellectuelle de Saint Augustin; du Manichéisme au Néoplatonisme* (*ibid.*, pp. x, 558).

Recent volumes of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* are *Babai Magni Liber de Unione* (Paris, Gabalda, 1915, pp. vi, 306), edited by A. Vaschalde, and *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (*ibid.*, 1917, pp. v, 350), edited by I. B. Chabot.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. von Harnack, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Inneren Organisation der Stadtrömischen Kirche* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, XLIII.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published, through the Houghton Mifflin Company, in the same handsome style as *The Educa-*

tion of Henry Adams, another book which Mr. Adams bequeathed to them, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*. Privately printed in 1912, the volume was published in 1913 by the same firm, under the auspices of the American Institute of Architects, and was reviewed in these pages (XIX. 592).

M. Georges Renard's small introductory book on medieval guilds has been translated into English under the title *Guilds in the Middle Ages* (London, Bell, pp. xxv, 140); an introduction by G. H. D. Cole supplements the original book with matter on the conditions in medieval England.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. P. Whitney, *Gregory VII.* (English Historical Review, April); A. Callebaut, *La Patrie du B. Jean Duns Scot* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, January); G. Golubovich, *Il B. Fr. Odorico da Pordenone, O. F. M.: Note Critiche Bibliografiche* (ibid.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Professor C. van Vollenhoven, a law professor in the University of Leyden, prints in English a learned and informing but vivacious pamphlet which gains added interest to Americans from the author's diplomatic service in the United States during the past winter, *The Three Stages in the Evolution of the Law of Nations* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1919, pp. 101).

An Étude sur Mazarin et ses Démêlés avec le Pape Innocent X., 1644-1648 (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. vii, 197) by Henry Coville has appeared as the 210th issue of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

In commemoration of the establishment under the terms of the treaty of Vienna in 1816 of the Central Commission for Navigation of the Rhine, the Dutch government has at its request published two volumes of *Rijndocumenten, Documents concernant la Navigation du Rhin . . . , 1803-1918* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1918).

La Grecia e l'Italia nel Risorgimento Italiano (Florence, Libreria della Voce, 1918, pp. 280) is a timely study in view of the conflicting interests of the two nations at various points. The author is C. Kerofilas.

B. Bareilles has published *Le Rapport Secret sur le Congrès de Berlin adressé à la S. Porte par Carathéodory Pacha, Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman* (Paris, Bossard, 1919).

Under the direction of the French ministry of foreign affairs J. Basdevant is editing the *Traités et Conventions en Vigueur entre la France et les Puissances Étrangères*. The work will extend to four volumes, of which the first includes the nations from Germany (Allemagne) to Ecuador (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 770).

In a small volume of 224 pages, *The Society of Free States* (New York, Harper), Mr. Dwight W. Morrow brings together the fruits of attentive reading and thought, by a lawyer and financier, upon the previous endeavors toward some better organization of the world, a specially interesting account of the international agencies which have been forced upon the world, or upon the Allies, by the demands of commerce and the war with Germany (based mainly upon the author's experience during 1918 as one of the advisers of the Allied Maritime Transport Council), and a thoughtful consideration of the present efforts to reconcile national independence and a higher organization of nations.

Among the important historical pamphlets relating to the present problem of organization of the world is *The League of Nations: an Historical Argument*, by Professor A. F. Pollard (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 68).

Les Problèmes Internationaux et le Congrès de la Paix, Vue d'Ensemble (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 120) is a convenient manual of the questions before the peace conference, prepared by A. Lugan.

A. Tamaro has issued the volume on eastern Venetia in a work on *La Venétie Julienne et la Dalmatie, Histoire de la Nation Italienne sur les Frontières Orientales* (Rome, Imp. du Senat, 1919, pp. 1034). The question of Trieste et l'Istrie (Paris, Yougoslavie, 1919) is handled by V. Primorac. In *L'Italia Irredenta* (Milan, Soc. Ed. Milanese, 1918, pp. 330), G. Pattini reviews events since 1860. Articles by leading Italian and Yugoslav publicists are included in the volume *Italia e Jugoslavia* (Florence, Libr. della Voce, 1918).

The small but by no means negligible part which Samoa has played in international affairs is competently unravelled by R. W. Watson in a *History of Samoa* (London, Whitcombe and Tombs).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lieut.-Col. C. Field, *The Rank and Office of Admiral* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); G. Drei, *Carteggio del Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga sul Concilio di Trento, 1561, II.* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XLI. 1); W. R. Shepherd, *The Expansion of Europe, I.* (Political Science Quarterly, March); L. C. Watelin, *Les à Côtés d'un Traité, Utrecht, 1712* (Mercure de France, March 16); T. H. S. Escott, *The House of Rothschild* (Quarterly Review, April); Marquis de Girardin, *Lunéville en l'An IX., ou Petits Côtés du Traité de Lunéville: Journal d'un Témoin Oculaire* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); P. Marmottan, *La Mission de J. de Lucchesini à Paris en 1811, I.* (Revue Historique, January); J. Duhem, *La Frontière de l'Est et les Traités de 1815* (Mercure de France, February 1); W. A. Dunning, *European Theories of Constitutional Government after the Congress of Vienna* (Political Science Quarterly, March); E. de Guichen, *Les Relations Commerciales Russo-Allemandes du XIX^e au XX^e Siècle et le Problème*

Agricole Allemand (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, April); A. Chevrillon, *Aux Pays d'Alsace et de Lorraine, Décembre 1918*, I.-II. (Revue de Paris, April 1, 15); A. Aulard, *Landau et Sarrelouis, Villes Françaises* (Revue de Paris, March 15); M. Benedetti, *Fiume nella Storia della sua Italianità* (Nuova Antologia, December 1); L. Leger, *La Yougoslavie et les Slovènes* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); A. Gauvain, *La Conférence de la Paix* (Revue de Paris, April 15).

THE GREAT WAR

Messrs. Constable (London) have issued under the auspices of the Ministry of Information, vol. I. (1914-1915) of a *Chronology of the War* edited by Maj.-Gen. Lord Edward Gleichen, a small volume, accompanied by a war atlas.

Of some service as an introduction to the German publications of the earlier years of the war is *Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur: Wegweiser durch die Wichtigsten Werke über die Probleme des Weltkriegs* (Dresden, Lehmann, 1917, pp. 50), by Dr. J. Hohlfeld.

A convenient *Manuel des Origines de la Guerre, Causes Lointaines, Cause Immédiate* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 500) has been compiled by Fernand Roches.

Volume III. of Frank H. Simonds's *History of the World War* has come from the press (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

Volumes XIX., XX., and XXI. of Messrs. Nelson's *History of the War*, by John Buchan, have come from the press. The volumes are entitled: the Spring Campaigns of 1917, the Summer Campaigns of 1917, and the Fourth Winter of the War, respectively.

The World War and its Consequences, by William H. Hobbs, comprises a series of lectures delivered at the University of Pittsburgh in the summer of 1918. The volume has an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt.

A number of important books by leading men of the war period are appearing in Germany. The first of such to appear seems to be Dr. Karl Helfferich's *Die Urgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, Ullstein) which, judging from a German summary, must certainly be of great importance. A lesser account, already published, is *Am Scheidewege zwischen Krieg und Frieden*, by Count Pourtalès, who in July, 1914, was German ambassador in St. Petersburg. Dr. Otto Hammann, for more than twenty years chief of the press bureau of the German Foreign Office, has published two volumes of his memoirs, under the title *Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges: Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1897-1906*. It was expected that Lüdendorff's *Meine Kriegserinnerungen 1914-1918* (Berlin, E. S. Mittler and Son) would be published in June. Von Jagow's *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, Hobbing) has just appeared. Pro-

fessor Ferdinand Tönnies of Kiel has published a short book entitled *Die Schuldfrage: Russlands Urheberchaft nach Zeugnissen aus dem Jahre 1914* (Berlin, Stilke, 1919), which reviews the secret documents from the Russian archives published by the Bolsheviks. The spring book-lists announce also two comprehensive volumes written by Bethmann-Hollweg, one by Falkenhayn, and a work produced in combination by Admiral von Tirpitz, Lieut.-Gen. von Stein, and Col. von Lettow-Vorbeck.

In addition to a body of documents dating from July 24 to September 4, 1914, dealing with the preliminaries of the war, the eighty-sixth volume of *Das Staatsarchiv* reprints about sixty documents on Austro-Hungarian relations to Balkan affairs from August 13, 1912, to January 8, 1913, originally printed in Vienna in 1914. A new monthly review, *Les Archives de la Guerre* (Paris, Chiron; annual subscription, 36 francs) made its initial appearance in March, and bears the device, "Des Faits racontés par leurs Témoins".

The authorship of the two remarkable indictments of Germany's part in the war entitled *I Accuse* and *The Crime* has been disclosed. The writer was Richard Grelling, a Jewish lawyer and socialist. It has also become known that Hermann Sudermann was the author of the famous manifesto of "the ninety-three" German scholars and literary men.

In the series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, edited by Professor David Kinley, and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, two new issues have appeared which have the size of books, and the value of thoroughgoing treatises: *Influence of the Great War upon Shipping*, by Professor J. Russell Smith of the University of Pennsylvania (pp. ix, 357), and *The Effects of the Great War upon Agriculture in the United States and Great Britain*, by Professor Benjamin H. Hibbard of the University of Wisconsin (pp. ix, 232).

The former French minister of war, General Zurlinden, in *La Guerre de Libération* (Paris, Hachette, 1919, 2 vols.) has recorded his observations on the military operations and their conduct. Colonel F. Feyler, the Swiss military critic, has added to his volumes on the war *Problèmes de Stratégie tirés de la Guerre Européenne, le Problème de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 282) in which he has discussed the operations in general. The problem of the first weeks of the war is the subject of *L' "Erreur" de 1914, Réponse aux Critiques* (Paris, Van Oest, 1919) by General Berthaut. General Berthaut has also furnished a useful survey of the war on the western front in *De la Marne à la Mer du Nord, Vues d'Ensemble sur les Opérations Militaires, 1914-1918* (Paris, Van Oest, 1919).

Not many personal narratives of the war can hereafter be noticed in these pages, but *Vingt Jours de Guerre aux Temps Héroïques*, by

Commandant A. Grasset (Paris, Berger-Levrault), has an unusual claim to attention because of being based on the diary of an infantry officer who at the beginning of the war was a member of the historical section of the General Staff. The narrative relates first to the mobilization and other affairs in Paris, then to events at Verdun, to the battle at Etche, and to German atrocities in that town.

Three concise accounts of phases of the Great War, chiefly useful to students of military history, are *La Campagne de l'Armée Belge (31 juillet 1914-1 janvier 1915)*, from official documents (Paris, Bloud and Gay); *De Liège à la Marne*, by Pierre Dauzet (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle); and *La Bataille des Flandres (16 octobre-15 novembre 1914)*, by the same (*ibid.*).

Three Years with the Ninth Division, by Brig.-Gen. W. Croft (London, Murray), is a history of the operations of the Lowland Scottish Division of the Second Army in Flanders.

In *Près des Combattants* (Paris, Hachette, 1918), André Chevrillon has again exercised his admirable descriptive powers. An essay by J. Civray discusses *L'Avant-Guerre comparée en Allemagne et en France* (Paris, Perrin, 1919).

Falkland, Jutland, and the Bight, by Commander the Hon. Barry Bingham (London, Murray), is based on a series of lectures which the captain of the *Nestor* gave to his fellow-prisoners in Germany, after the sinking of that ship, which had been engaged in all the battles named.

Mutually complementary accounts of the same naval exploit are found in *Zeebrugge and Ostend Dispatches*, the documents in the case, edited by Professor C. Sanford Terry (Humphrey Milford), and in *Dover during the Dark Days*, by Lieut.-Comm. Stanley W. Coxon, R. N. V. R. (John Lane).

Three Years of War in East Africa, by Capt. Angus Buchanan of the 25th Royal Fusiliers, was published by Murray in May.

The support rendered by the colonies of the several allied nations in the conduct of the war and the share borne by the colonial troops has been recounted and appraised by P. Perreau-Pradier and M. Besson in *L'Effort Colonial des Alliés* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919). A single illustration is more fully depicted by L. Bocquet and E. Hosten in *Un Fragment de l'Épopée Sénégalaise, les Tirailleurs Noirs sur l'Yser* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918).

Les Étapes de la Crise Grecque, 1915-1918 (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 294) have been recounted by C. Fregier, while Demetra Vaka has tried to untangle *Les Intrigues Germaniques en Grèce* (Paris, Plon, 1919).

The *Souvenirs* (Paris, Payot, 1919) of the Rumanian statesman

Take Jonescu shed considerable light on the origins of the war as well as on the relations of Rumania thereto; the latter topic is also discussed by Professor J. Ursu of Jassy in *Pourquoi la Roumanie a fait la Guerre* (*ibid.*, pp. 288). Lieutenant M. Sturdza has recorded his experiences *Avec l'Armée Roumaine, 1916-1918* (Paris, Hachette, 1918). *Roumania's Sacrifice, her Past, Present, and Future* (New York, Century, 1918, pp. xxii, 265) is a translation by Mrs. C. de S. Wainright from the work of Senator G. Negulesco.

The French ministry of foreign affairs has published a pamphlet containing the *Conventions d'Armistice passées avec la Turquie, la Bulgarie, l'Autriche-Hongrie, et l'Allemagne par les Puissances Alliés et Associées* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1919, pp. 40).

German rule in Alsace has furnished the subject for the following volumes: *L'Alsace sous la Domination Allemande* (Paris, Colin, 1918), by F. Eccard; *Les Alsaciens sous le Joug Allemand* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1918, pp. 36), by the late C. Wagner; and *Le Poing Allemand en Lorraine et en Alsace, 1871, 1914, 1918* (Paris, Floury, 1918), by A. Fribourg. Pilant's *Essai sur le Sentiment Français en Alsace* (Paris, Bossard, 1918) affords some evidence of the attitude of the people of these provinces.

The historical and other bases for French claims to the left bank of the Rhine are set forth by Abbé S. Coube in *Alsace-Lorraine et France Rhénane, Exposé des Droits de la France sur la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1919); by E. Darsy in *Les Droits Historiques de la France sur la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1919, pp. 150); and by R. Johannet in *France et Rhin* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1919, pp. 256). For the situation in these districts since the armistice H. Bordeaux's *Sur le Rhin* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 336) and F. Funck-Brentano's *La France sur le Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1919) may be consulted.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Hanotaux, *Le Manoeuvre de la Marne* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15); Maj. T. E. Compton, *The Campaign of 1914 in East Prussia* (*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, February); G. Lyon, *Dans Lille Occupée* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 1); F. Gribble, *The Medical History of Ruhlleben* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); Anon., *The Record of the Australian Forces in the War* (*Round Table*, March); A. Marvaud, *Le Portugal et la Guerre* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, February 15); Admiral Degouy, *Les Répercussions* (*Revue de Paris*, March 1); A. Mérignhac, *Les Usurpations de Souveraineté dans la Guerre Actuelle* (*Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, December, January); J. M. Mathews, *Political Parties and the War* (*American Political Science Review*, May); H. Köppe, *Schriften über den Kriegssozialismus* (*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, VIII. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

An important contribution to the history of manorial conditions is *The History of an East Anglian Soke* (to wit, the soke of Gimingham) by Mrs. Ivo Hood (Bedford, *Bedfordshire Times* Publishing Company, 1918), a large volume full of documentary and other material.

In conjunction with a note on the manuscripts of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, in the April number of the *English Historical Review*, Miss Dorothy Hodnett and Miss Winifred White present the text of a fifteenth-century English version of the *Modus*.

The Surtees Society prints as vol. CXXIX. of its publications (London, Quaritch, pp. lxxii, 356) a valuable body of documents concerning *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers*, 1356-1917.

The second volume of Dr. James H. Wylie's *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, which was nearly ready for the press when Dr. Wylie died, has been published by the Cambridge University Press. The volume covers the years 1415-1416.

The Canterbury and York Society has published the fifth part, running to 1572, of the *Registrum Matthei Parker*, edited by the Rev. Dr. W. H. Frere.

From contemporary manuscripts, both official and unofficial, Lord Ernest Hamilton has completed a volume on *Elizabethan Ulster* which Messrs. Hurst and Blackett (London) have lately published.

The Royal Historical Society expects before long to publish the fourth volume of the *Nicholas Papers*, edited by Sir G. F. Warner.

A valuable history of a famous regiment (the "Fifth Foot") is Mr. H. M. Walker's *History of the Northumberland Fusiliers, 1694-1906*.

Lord Ilchester has a work in preparation, based on a considerable range of unpublished material, in his own possession and that of friends and relatives, on *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland: His Family and Relations, 1705-1774* (Murray).

George O'Brien's *The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Maunsel) is a careful and fair-minded book, which, however, strongly urges the view that legislative independence, 1782-1800, brought much increase of prosperity to the island.

The Cambridge University Press is soon to publish an essay on *Palmerston and the Hungarian Crisis* by the late Charles Sproxton.

M. Beer's *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England* (1912) is the basis of *A History of British Socialism*, though the English version is in many respects newer. Volume I. (London, Bell, pp. xxi, 361) carries the history down to Chartism; a second volume will complete the work.

Mrs. Ethel H. Thomson's *Life and Letters of William Thomson, Archbishop of York* (London, John Lane) is an important contribution

to English ecclesiastical history in the Victorian period and to the knowledge of a valuable life and character.

A French survey of the internal politics of England in recent years is *L'Angleterre avant et pendant la Guerre; l'Angleterre sous les Gouvernements Radicaux; l'Angleterre depuis 1914* (Paris, Grasset, 1919, pp. 128) by P. Reynaud.

Among the preliminary economic studies of the war published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, no. 8 is a substantial volume on *British War Administration* by Professor John A. Fairlie (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 302) in which a great mass of information on the organization of administrative agencies in the United Kingdom down to the end of 1917, and in some matters to a later date, has been presented.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for April the chief article is one by Mr. Robert Lamond on the Scottish Craft-gild as a Religious Fraternity; Mr. Horatio F. Brown has a paper on Newhall on the North Esk; Mr. David Baird Smith prints a group of letters of 1780 and 1781 from Provost Hugh Wyllie, illustrating Glasgow conditions in that troubled year; Mr. Walter W. Seton prints a group of interesting letters of 1767 from Henry, Cardinal York.

The latest report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland indicates that the *Guide to the Records in the Public Record Office in Ireland*, delayed by reason of the war and attendant difficulties, will before long be printed and issued.

The Irish Convention and Sinn Fein (Dublin, Maunsell, 1918, pp. 194) by W. B. Wells and N. Marlowe continues the narrative of events from their *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916* through April, 1918.

Documentary publications: *Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243-1482*, ed. J. F. Baldwin (Publications of the Selden Society, vol. XXXVI.); *Year Books of Edward II.*, vol. XV., 6 and 7 Edward II., A. D. 1313, ed. W. C. Bolland (Selden Society); *The Register of Thomas Myllyng, Bishop of Hereford, 1474-1492*, ed. A. P. Bannister (Hereford, Wilson and Phillips).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Pokorny, *Beiträge zur Ältesten Geschichte Irlands*, I.-II. (Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, XI. 2, XII. 1, 3); G. T. Lapsley, *Knights of the Shire in the Parliaments of Edward II.* [concl.] (English Historical Review, April); E. R. Turner, *Parliament and Foreign Affairs, 1603-1760* (*ibid.*).

FRANCE

General reviews: G. Pagès, *Histoire de France de 1660 à 1789* (1914-1918) (Revue Historique, November); R. Reuss, *Histoire de France, Révolution* (*ibid.*, January).

The seventh volume, for the years 1904-1906, of the valuable *Répertoire de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la France* (Paris, Rieder, 1919, pp. 413) compiled by Brière and Caron, has appeared. When the volume for the years 1907-1909, now in preparation, shall have appeared the work will have covered the publications from 1898 to 1913. A portion of the earlier publications, it will be remembered, have been catalogued by P. Caron in his *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de France depuis 1789*. M. Caron and E. Saulnier are now engaged in preparing a *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de France de 1500 à 1789*, which will complete the undertaking down to the eve of the war.

Vicomte Georges d'Avenel has added to his remarkable *Histoire Économique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Denrées, et de tous les Prix en général depuis 1200 jusqu'en 1800* a sixth volume (Paris, Leroux, 1919) which deals with *L'Évolution des Dépenses Privées*. The increase in comforts and conveniences, the improvement in the quantity, variety, and quality of foods and in the table service, the changes in the size, character, and accommodations of houses and the extent and improvement of grounds both in city and country, domestic service, and other topics are considered in connection with carefully prepared tables which show the changing costs as well as the changes in the returns actually enjoyed. The relative advantages to rich and poor in former times and at present are brought out in illuminating fashion.

A careful detailed account by C. G. Picavet describes *Les Dernières Années de Turenne, 1660-1675* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1919), with special reference to his later campaigns.

A biographical account of *Le Marquis de Marigny, 1727-1781* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1918, pp. 243), by A. Marquiset, is an interesting contribution to the history of art and architecture in France in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Marigny was a younger brother of Madame de Pompadour, who secured for him the position of director general of buildings and fine arts.

The Paris publisher Champion has recently brought out three useful aids to research in the history of France. A. Marquiset has compiled a *Table Alphabétique des Noms Propres cités dans les Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France pendant le XVIII^e Siècle et publiés par MM. F. Barrière et de Lescure* (pp. vii, 176); L. Le Grand has catalogued *Les Sources de l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution aux Archives Nationales* (pp. 210); a *Bibliographie des Historiques des Régiments Français* (pp. xiv, 354) has been prepared by Captain J. Hanoteau and E. Bonnot.

Dr. A. Denys-Burette has made an extended study of *Les Questions Religieuses dans les Cahiers de 1789* (Paris, Boccard, 1919). Professor A. Aulard has investigated the survivals of feudalism from the Fourth of August, 1789, to the decree of the National Convention, July 17, 1793,

which abolished the remaining relics, in *La Révolution Française et le Régime Féodal* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. iv, 290); and has published the twenty-fifth volume of his *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public, avec la Correspondance Officielle des Représentants en Mission* (Paris, Leroux, 1919, pp. 804) which covers the period from June 30 to July 28, 1795. Professor Marcel Marion has dealt with the years 1789-1792 in the second volume of his *Histoire Financière de la France depuis 1715* (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 390).

H. M. Hyndman's *Clemenceau, the Man and his Times* (New York, Stokes, pp. xiv, 338), a well-written biography, is stated in the preface to be the fruit of a long personal acquaintance and to have been prepared with considerable help from the subject.

A volume of *Messages, Discours, Allocutions, Lettres, et Télégrammes* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1919, pp. 320) of President Raymond Poincaré includes material from the years 1914-1918.

C. E. Curinier has edited a convenient manual of biographical sketches of contemporary Frenchmen entitled *Dictionnaire National des Contemporaines* (Paris, Office Général d'Édition, de Librairie, et d'Imprimerie, 1918, pp. vii, 352).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. Behrens, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Französischen Sprache* (Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Litteratur, XLV. 3); H. Stein, *Pierre Tristan, Chambellan de Philippe Auguste, et sa Famille* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXVIII.); A. Callebaut, *Les Provinciaux de la Province de France au XIII^e Siècle, Notes, Documents, et Études* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, July, 1918); C. de la Roncière, *Le Passage Nord-Est et la Compagnie Française du Pôle Arctique au Temps de Henri IV.* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXVIII.); F. Puaux, *Origines, Causes, et Conséquences de la Guerre des Camisards* [concl.] (Revue Historique, November); Lilian Knowles, *New Light on the Economic Causes of the French Revolution* (Economic Journal, March); H. E. Bourne, *Food Control and Price-Fixing in Revolutionary France* (Journal of Political Economy, February, March); G. Bourgin, *Note sur la Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er} et les Documents Napoléoniens conservés aux Archives de la Marine* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); Commandant Weil, *L'Attentat de Fieschi: Lettres Inédites* (Revue de Paris, March 15); W. Windelband, *Der Nationalismus in der Französischen Geschichtsschreibung seit 1871* (Deutsche Rundschau, August).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Professor Jules Gay of the University of Lille is the author of a scholarly monograph on *L'Italia Meridionale e l'Impero Bizantino dall'Avvenuto di Basilio I. alla Resa di Bari ai Normanni, 867-1071* (Florence, Libr. della Voce, 1917).

A new volume in the *Great Nations* series (London, Harrap) is *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, by H. B. Cotterill, which continues that author's *Medieval Italy*, in the same series, and narrates the political history of three centuries from the point of view of the chief cities.

A. Pingaud has supplemented his excellent history of the Italian Republic with a series of biographical studies on *Les Hommes d'État de la République Italienne, 1802-1805* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 236).

An extended account of *Il Quarantotto in Toscana* (Florence, Bemporad, 1919, pp. 592) comes from the pen of F. Martini.

In no. 21 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas* (Seville), Señor Ramón de Manjarrés completes his study of Spanish explorations of the Pacific in the eighteenth century, and Professor Germán Latorre his study of Diego Ribero. No. 22 makes a beginning of a catalogue, by *legajos*, of the Archivo General de Indias, with sixteen pages listing the contents of part of the "*Patronato*".

The Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas has begun the publication at Barcelona of a *Colección General de Documentos relativos á las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla*. The plan, which is a colossal one, involves some 60,000 documents. The first volume (1493-1518) contains 47 documents, thirty of which have never been published before, relating mostly to the demarcation disputes of Spain and Portugal and to the voyage of Magellan.

Dr. A. Mounier has presented as his thesis at the University of Bordeaux *Les Faits et la Doctrine Économique en Espagne sous Philippe V., Gerónimo de Ustariz, 1670-1732* (Bordeaux, Cadoret, 1919, pp. 302).

A small volume entitled *Guerra de España contra Estados Unidos en 1804* (Madrid, Beltran, 1918, pp. xvi, 128, lvi), by Admiral Macdonnell contains documents and a variety of supplementary material.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Castellani, *Il Tribuno Cola di Rienzo nei "Fragmenta Romanae Historiae" dell' Anonimo* (Civiltà Cattolica, April 19); F. Valls-Taberner, *Relacions Familiars i Politiques entre Jaume el Conqueridor i Afons el Savi* (Bulletin Hispanique, January); E. Armstrong, *The Empire of Spain* (Quarterly Review, April).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The librarian of the University of Nancy, J. M. Tournneur-Aumont, has written some important *Études de Cartographie Historique sur l'Allemagne, Régions du Haut-Rhin et du Haut-Danube du III^e au VIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Colin, 1919, pp. 322), and prepared accompanying maps.

An essay on *Der Deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* (Jena, Fischer, 1918, pp. vii, 186) is by Professor F. Keutgen of Jena.

Much additional light on the history of Germany in the nineteenth century and especially on the movements toward unity is afforded by the

Briefwechsel zwischen König Johann von Sachsen und den Königen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und Wilhelm I. von Preussen (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, pp. 522), edited by Prince Johann Georg of Saxony, grandson of King John. That cultivated and intelligent monarch was the brother-in-law of Frederick William IV.; the correspondence extends over the whole period from 1825 to 1873.

Paul Wentzcke has made a considerable contribution to the history of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany in *Thüringische Einigungsbestrebungen im Jahre 1848, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung* (Jena, Fischer, 1917, pp. viii, 321). The volume also contains some letters of Moritz Seebeck from Frankfort and Berlin in the years 1848-1851.

Professor Erich Brandenburg's important *Die Reichsgründung* has advanced to a second edition (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 2 vols., pp. 458, 459) and is accompanied by a volume of new materials (*e. g.*, from the papers of Ludolf Camphausen), dissertations, excursus, and notes, *Untersuchungen und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Reichsgründung* (*ibid.*, pp. 743).

L'Opinion Allemande pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918 (Paris, Perrin, 1919) by André Hallays has appeared in book form. Portions of the work attracted much attention when they appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* some months since.

We are informed that the new government of German Austria has laid open to historical investigators the archives of its Foreign Office down to 1894.

V. Bibl is editing for the Commission for Austrian History *Die Korrespondenz Maximilians II.* The first volume (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1916, pp. xliv, 643) contains the family correspondence for the years 1564-1566.

The historian of Napoleon, A. Fournier, has published *Oesterreich-Ungarns Neubau unter Kaiser Franz-Joseph I.* (Berlin, Ullstein, pp. 200).

The now celebrated lecture which Count Czernin, formerly foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, delivered in Vienna on December 11, 1918, is printed in the issues of the *International Review* for February and March of this year.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Norden, *Germani: ein Gram-matisch-Ethnologisches Problem* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, V.); P. Pendzig, *Die Griechischen Studien im Deutschen Mittelalter* (Neue Jahrbücher, XLII. 9); R. Steck, *Zwingli und Bern* (Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift, January 22); V. Fleury, *Les Précurseurs de la République Allemande: Disciples et Successeurs de Boerne* (La Révolution de 1848, December); G. Ferrero, *Bismarck e Guglielmo II.* (Revue des Nations Latines,

April 1); A. Hallays, *La Révolution en Allemagne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 5); Anon., *German Democracy at the Cross Roads: the Old and the New German Constitutions* (Round Table, March); Rubicon, *The Hungarian Revolution*, I. (New Europe, April 17).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Dutch Commission for Historical Publications has issued the tenth and concluding volume of its monumental *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840* (ed. H. T. Colenbrander), a volume containing, among other things of the years 1830-1840, a rich store of Dutch, English, French, Prussian, Austrian, Russian, etc., diplomatic documents concerning the Belgian question of that period. The sixth and last volume of the *Leidsche Textiel-nijverheid* and the fourth volume of the documents on the University of Leyden have either appeared or are on the point of appearing. Vol. III. of the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal* (1580-1582) has also been published, and Dr. Poelman's volume of *Ostzeehandel tot 1500*. The commission expects before long to begin the publication of a mass of papers collected by Dr. Colenbrander from various foreign archives, illustrative of the Dutch maritime wars of 1652-1676.

The *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks oude Archieven* for 1917 (vol. XL. of the series) has a section respecting the archives of Surinam. The older series of the archives of Curaçao have partly been transferred to the Rijksarchief in the Hague; the remainder of them and the older series of Surinam will follow. An index of the entire series of *Verslagen* from 1865 is in preparation.

During the last two years the *Geschiedkundige Atlas van Nederland* has made a large advance by the publication of "Kaart 8", in twelve sheets, with 141 pages of text, prepared by Professor Blok and Lieutenant Beekman and exhibiting the Seventeen Provinces in 1555.

The publication of an *Atlas de Géographie Historique de la Belgique* has begun under the direction of Professor L. van der Essen of the University of Louvain, with the collaboration of MM. Ganshof, Maury, and Nothomb (Brussels and Paris, G. van Oest). The work will contain seven fascicles, with thirteen maps, to be completed in 1919. The first installment to appear is a useful map of the Austrian Netherlands in 1786, with fifteen pages of historical text.

La Prussification du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg depuis sa Séparation de la Belgique en 1839 jusqu'à la Guerre Mondiale (Paris, Van Oest, 1919, pp. 95) is a brief survey of the matter both in its international and in its domestic aspects, by E. Simonis.

Noteworthy in the highest degree among the publications of this spring respecting the war is *Belgium: a Personal Narrative* (Appleton, two vols., pp. xi, 661; vi, 818), by Hon. Brand Whitlock, American minister to that court.

Étapes du Nationalisme Belge (Paris, Van Oest, 1918, pp. 232) are reviewed by P. Nothomb; F. Passelecq has recounted the experiences and behavior of *La Magistrature Belge contre le Despotisme Allemand* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918).

The past and future importance of Antwerp, especially in matters economic, is set forth with great fullness by C. Stiénon in *Anvers et l'Avenir de l'Entente: de l'Influence Prépondérante des Moyens de Transport dans la Lutte Économique* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Française, 1918).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Baron Beyens, *S. M. Albert 1er, Roi des Belges* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Fornvännen for 1916, just published for the Swedish Academy of Antiquities (Stockholm, Wahlström and Widstrand, 1919, pp. 256, ix, 58), contains a valuable general account of gold-work of the Bronze Age found in Sweden (62 pp.) by Professor Oscar Montelius, papers on stone and bronze weapons, on graves with Roman potteries, and on the relations of sculptures found on the island of Gottland to those of Cologne and Byzantium, the last by J. Roosval, whose illustrated work on *Die Steinmeister Gottlands* was published last year. The academy has completed the second volume (ed. Erik Brate) of *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, containing the inscriptions found in Östergötland.

In bequeathing the Fiske Icelandic Collection to the library of Cornell University, the late Professor Willard Fiske provided for an annual publication relating to Iceland and the collection. Of this series, *Islandica*, edited by the accomplished hand of Mr. Halldor Hermannsson, several preceding volumes have been noted in these pages. The eleventh (1918, pp. 100) is an interesting survey of Iceland's periodical literature from 1696 to 1874. The public men of Iceland, Jón Sigurðsson and the like, have been so closely identified with its periodicals that the monograph is a valuable contribution to the political history of the island.

Baron P. Graevenitz describes events from 1905 to 1918 and undertakes to reveal the causes and forces at work in *From Autocracy to Bolshevism* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1918, pp. 128). A similar survey from the anti-Bolshevist side is *De Nicolas II. à Lénine* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 366), by S. Persky. E. P. Stebbing has recorded observations from March to November, 1917, in *From Czar to Bolshevik* (London, Lane, 1918, pp. xv, 322); Serge de Chessin extends his account into 1918 in *Au Pays de la Démence Rouge, la Révolution Russe, 1917-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. xii, 496); E. Antonelli, a military attaché of the French legation, furnishes a narrative from October, 1917, to the summer of 1918 in *La Russie Bolcheviste* (Paris, Grasset, 1919). The

third volume of Claude Anet's valuable *La Révolution Russe* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 288) carries the narrative from November, 1917, to January, 1918, and the fourth volume which is just appearing will continue to June, 1918.

The Princess Cantacuzène's *Revolutionary Days: Recollections of Romanoffs and Bolsheviks, 1914-1917*, which has been appearing serially, is now published in book form by Small, Maynard, and Company. The author is a granddaughter of Gen. U. S. Grant.

The student of Bolshevism in Russia must by no means neglect M. V. Victorov-Toporov's *La Première Année de la Révolution Russe, or Les Bolchéviki, 1917-1919: Faits, Documents, Commentaires* (Paris, Fischbacher), by Étienne Buisson.

Some phases of the Polish problem are presented with their historical background by K. Waliszewski in *La Pologne Inconnue* (Paris, Colin, 1919, pp. 276), and by M. Seyda in *Territoires Polonais sous la Domination Prussienne* (Paris, Comité National Polonais, 1919, pp. xix, 137).

Twenty maps with French and English text are published by N. P. Comnène in *La Terre Roumaine à travers les Ages, Atlas Historique, Politique, et Ethnographique* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 58). A. C. Popovici has discussed *La Question Roumaine en Transylvanie et en Hongrie* (*ibid.*, pp. 230); E. Guérive, *La Bucovine et le Banat* (Paris, Alcan, 1919); and D. Draghicesco, *La Transylvanie, Esquisse Historique, Géographique, Ethnographique, et Statistique* (*ibid.*, pp. 111, 116).

R. Yovanovitch has a volume on *Les Croates et l'Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris, Yougoslavie, 1918, pp. x, 281).

General discussions of the Yugoslav problem are furnished by V. Primorac in *La Question Yougo-Slave, Étude Historique, Économique, et Sociale* (Paris, Yougoslavie, 1918, pp. 302); by A. Gauvain in *La Question Yougoslave* (Paris, Bossard, 1918); by J. Duhem in *La Question Yougoslave, la Monarchie Danubienne et l'Europe, 1878-1918* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. 225). Charles Rivet, as correspondent of the *Temps*, records recent observations in *Chez les Slaves Libérés: En Yougoslavie* (Paris, Perrin, 1919).

In *La Situation Internationale de la Grèce, 1821-1917* (Zürich, *Die Verbindung*, 1918, pp. lxiv, 256), Dr. Charles Strupp presents in convenient form, and almost entirely in French, all the documents most important for the history of the independence of Greece and of its relations to the great powers, with a full historical, and partly argumentative, introduction, also in French.

Not without *Tendenz*, of course, yet useful to the student of history are the following two publications. *The Dodecanese*, by Dr. Skevos Zervos (pp. 80, and 322 photographic illustrations), is published by the executive committee of the inhabitants of the islands (Paris, 4 rue de

Messine) in order to present their cause before the peace conference. It describes the islands and traces their history from Homer's time down. With a similar purpose the Cypriote deputation, consisting of the Archbishop of Cyprus and various members of the legislative council, presents a *Memorandum on the Island of Cyprus* (London, Hesperia Press, pp. 64) containing facts and documents relative to the Cypriote plea for union with Greece.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Hoijer, *Les Rapports Suédo-Russes et la Finlande dans le Passé et dans le Présent* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); L. Pingaud, *L'Empereur Alexandre Ier, Roi de Pologne: la "Kongressovka", 1801-1825* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXII. 4); G. P. Steklov, *Alexander Herzen und Nikolai Tschernischewsky* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Socialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VIII.); Baron Korff, *The Russian and French Revolutions* (Yale Review, April); G. Zinoviev, *Der Russische Sozialismus und Liberalismus über die Auswärtige Politik des Zarismus* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VIII. 1); R. Hoenigen, *Untersuchungen zum Suchomlinov-Prozess* (Deutsche Rundschau, April, 1918); B. Savinkov, *L'Affaire Korniloff* (Mercure de France, April 1); Anon., *Bolshevik Aims and Bolshevik Ideals* (Round Table, March); Prince A. Wolkonsky, *Le Origini della Russia Moderna e la Propaganda Ucrainofila* (Nuova Antologia, January 1); Louise Weiss, *Trois Fondateurs de la République Tchéco-Slovaque* (Revue de Paris, March 1); V. Beneš, *What We Have Accomplished* (Czechoslovak Review, March); F. L. Schoell, *Le Roi s'Amuse: the Diary of King Ferdinand's Secretary*, I., II. (Atlantic Monthly, May, June).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The eminent archaeologist J. de Morgan has published a valuable *Histoire du Peuple Arménien depuis les Temps les plus reculés de ses Annales jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. xviii, 411), with a wealth of maps and admirably selected illustrative materials. He has also gathered into book form his scattered articles on the Armenian question with the title *Contre les Barbares de l'Orient, Études sur la Turquie, ses Felonies et ses Crimes, sur la Marche des Alliés dans l'Asie Antérieure, sur la Solution de la Question d'Orient* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. ix, 267). An important document in the case is *Le Rapport Secret du Dr. Johannes Lepsius, Président de la Deutsche Orient-Mission et de la Société Germano-Arménienne, sur les Massacres d'Arménie* (Paris, Payot, 1918, pp. xx, 332).

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March, April, and May contains an extended list of references on Armenia and the Armenians and their history.

The Hakluyt Society has just published the first of two volumes of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (pp. lxxv, 238, xxxix), translated from the

original Portuguese "rutter" by Mansel L. Dames, with copious and learned annotations, forming an edition which supersedes that produced for the same society in 1866 by Lord Stanley of Alderley, and greatly illuminates the history of the early Portuguese empire in India.

A course of lectures delivered in Calcutta in April, 1918, by Mr. J. J. A. Campos, has been published as *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, with an introduction by Mr. F. J. Monahan, presidency commissioner of that province.

An account of *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie, Suratte, Arabië, Perzië* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1918, pp. xii, 308) has been furnished by Dr. H. Terpstra. The narrative covers events down to 1624.

Volume I., no. 1, of the *New China Review*, edited by Mr. Samuel Couling, of which we have before spoken, has arrived from Hongkong (Kelly and Walsh). It contains two historical articles which specially deserve mention in this journal: A Short-lived Republic (Formosa, May 24-June 3, 1895), by Dr. Hosea B. Morse, and Le Grand Pélerinage Bouddhique de Lang-chan et les Cinq Montagnes de Tong-Tcheou, by Father Henri Doré, S. J., the latter to be continued. There are other lesser pieces to interest the historical student, and the May number will contain an important article on Early Chinese Religion, by Rev. Arthur Morley.

In the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. XLVI., pt. 1, Ernest W. Clement has a paper on Yedo and Tokyo, setting forth the history and significance of the change of name; and Professor Asakawa one on Some Aspects of Japanese Feudal Institutions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: An Armenian, *The Independent Republic of Georgia* (New Europe, February 27); G. Samné, *Le Chérifat de la Mecque et l'Unité Syrienne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 25); H. Cordier, *Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie Centrale sous les Mongols* (T'Oung Pao, March, 1917); *id.*, *Le Début des Anglais dans l'Extrême-Orient* (*ibid.*, July, 1917).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is sending to the printer in July the first volume of *Letters of Delegates to the Continental Congress*, edited by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, a collection embracing all known letters or parts of letters which cast light on the doings of the Congress additional to what is to be obtained from the *Journals*. The series is expected to consist of six volumes; the first covers the period from September 3, 1775, to July 4, 1776, inclusive.

Following are the more important historical materials acquired in recent months by the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress: papers of President John Tyler, 1792-1861 (about 450 pieces); of Willie P. Mangum, 1810-1861 (2000 pieces); of Commodore John Rodgers, 1806-1836 (950 pieces); of David Bailie Warden, 1806-1843 (500 pieces); of Judge John C. Underwood, 1856-1873 (150 pieces); of John Randolph of Roanoke, 1814-1834 (48 pieces); papers relating to civil cases in Mexico, 1590-1866 (27 volumes); diary of a voyage from Charleston, S. C., to San Francisco in the revenue cutter *Jefferson Davis*, in 1854, kept by William C. Pease, commander; diary of A. L. Drayton, landsman, on board the C. S. S. *Florida* and the C. S. brigantine *Clarence*, January to June, 1863; Duncan F. Kenner's account of his mission to Europe, 1865; mercantile account-books of Ormsby and McLaughlin, Pittsburgh, 1794-1798 (2 vols.); transcript of a confidential report of the Spanish minister of finance to the King of Spain, May 20, 1819, relative to the Florida treaty; an agreement, dated November, 1486, and signed with the sign manual of Ferdinand and Isabella, for the transfer of the town and fortress of Lumbier in Navarre to the King and Queen of Spain; the autograph signed copy of General Pershing's offer of all the American forces to Marshal Foch, March 28, 1918.

The Government Printing Office has issued, and the Superintendent of Documents has for sale, a *Catalogue of Public Documents, July 1, 1913-June 30, 1915* (pp. lv, 2127), being no. 12 in its series of such catalogues.

Students of history should be reminded that the *Atlas of American Agriculture* which the U. S. Department of Agriculture is issuing, under the supervision of O. E. Baker, is in part historical in contents. Thus the latest fascicle (pt. V., *The Crops*, section A, *Cotton*) has, besides maps and letterpress exhibiting cotton acreage and production in recent times, a number of maps and a section of text relating to production, prices, and acreage at various periods in the past.

The contents of the April number of the *Historical Outlook* includes an article by Edmund C. Burnett entitled 1919 in the Light of 1788; one by Professor L. M. Larson on the New Germany; one by Professor C. W. Park entitled Foreign Opinion of Germany before 1914: a German Interpretation; and one by George E. Hastings concerning Some New Evidence on the Origin of the Stars and Stripes. Articles of special interest in the May number are: Japan and the Great War, by Professor P. J. Treat; the Food Administration: a Test of American Democracy, by Dr. E. S. Brown; the Background of Germany's Hold on Russia, by Eugene N. Curtis; the Revolution in Hungary, by Professor L. M. Larson; and the Study of English History as an Influence in Promoting a Closer Anglo-American Entente, by Professor A. L. Cross.

The Société des Américanistes de Paris is resuming the publication of its *Journal*, interrupted for five years by war. Fascicle 1 of 1914, printed in July of that year but not then distributed, is now sent forth as the first part—the second part is now in press—of a volume called vol. XI, 1914–1919. In this present part is an account by Baron Marc de Villiers of a poem on the founding of Louisiana, by Dumont de Montigny, Bibl. Arsenal MS. 3459; and M. Guillemin-Tarayre continues from vol. IX. his minute study of the great temple of Mexico.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1918 (XXVIII. 1), adds to the already large literature of the secession movement of 1850 a valuable paper by Professor Herman V. Ames on John C. Calhoun's connection with that movement. There is also a paper on Friendship as a Factor in the Settlement of Massachusetts by Professor Charles E. Park. Mr. Brigham's bibliography of American newspapers, 1690–1820, is continued in alphabetical order of states and places to the end of New York.

Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland and Professor Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, vice-chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, have joined in editing an important volume entitled *Democracy in Reconstruction* (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 506), composed of twenty-six papers by various competent hands, treating different aspects of the ideals and institutions of democracy, different problems of social adjustment, labor, transportation, and political reconstruction. An historical paper by Professor Schafer precedes, in which stages of American social progress are sketched as a background to the impending processes of reconstruction.

Messrs. Doran have published *A History of the United States*, by Cecil E. Chesterton, an Englishman who was killed in the war. There is an introduction by Gilbert K. Chesterton, the well-known writer.

The *American Year Book* for 1918 has come from the press (Appleton), with contents of the usual character and value.

Professor J. H. Hollander has brought out through the Macmillan Company a volume entitled *War Borrowing: a Study of Treasury Certificates of Indebtedness of the United States*, an examination of the part which public credit has played in our national defense during war, particularly through the form of certificates of indebtedness.

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* opens with an article on ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, in which the history of diocesan organization and episcopal visitation is outlined. Professor H. E. Bolton makes a signal addition to the history of the expedition made in 1604 by Governor Juan de Oñate from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California, by printing an original journal of the expedition kept by Fray Francisco de Escovar, recently discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville; it appears

that Father Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones*, hitherto our chief source, is largely, though far from solely, based on the narrative of Escovar. Another document of importance, contributed by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., is a general report on the missions and mission Indians of California in 1815, written by Father José Señan, president of those missions. A third is the continuation of Dr. Priestley's translation of Don Pedro Fages's description of California. Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein gives a chapter on the life of Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, running to the time of his transfer to that see from pastoral work in New Jersey. Mr. L. F. Stock of the Carnegie Institution contributes a paper on the Jesuit Father LeMoyné's treatise on the art of writing and judging history, *De l'Histoire* (Paris, 1607).

The contents of chief importance in the March number of *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are the address of the president of the society, James M. Wilcox, at the annual meeting in December; an account of the work of the sisters during the epidemic of influenza in October, 1918 (to be continued), and a continuation (1839-1841) of the letters of the Santo Domingo refugees in Philadelphia.

The "Accompanying Paper" in the *Thirty-Second Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology is "Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths", collected by Jeremiah Curtin and J. N. B. Hewitt, edited by the latter. The materials are given in translation only, except that two texts are printed in the original, accompanied by interlinear translations.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Dr. James Brown Scott has brought out through the Oxford University Press *James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 and their Relation to a more Perfect Society of Nations*.

The library of John Adams, which in 1822 he presented to the town of Quincy, was transferred in 1893 to the Boston Public Library. It was perhaps, with one exception, the largest private collection of books made in America before 1822, and is still of much value to scholars. The Boston Public Library has printed an excellent catalogue of it (pp. viii, 271), edited by Mr. Lindsay Swift.

A second edition of A. H. Fried's *Pan-Amerika, 1810-1916* (Zürich, Orell Füssli, 1918) supplements the earlier edition with some considerations on the period from 1910 to 1916.

A volume by Samuel G. Heiskell entitled *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* has been brought out in Nashville by the Ambrose Press.

The Macmillan Company announce for publication in the autumn the long-expected history of *The War with Mexico, 1846-1848*, which Dr. Justin H. Smith has for several years been preparing with extraordinary labor and thoroughness and with such unusual opportunities that, lit-

erally, the story of that war, political and military, will, we are sure, be told in these volumes for the first time.

Mr. Addison G. Procter, a Kansas delegate to the Republican Convention in 1860, the youngest member of that convention and one of its few survivors, read this spring before the Chicago Historical Society an interesting address on *Lincoln and the Convention of 1860*, which the society has printed in a pamphlet.

Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865, by Brougham Villiers and W. H. Chesson, shortly to be published by Fisher Unwin, will analyze and discuss the causes of friction and misunderstanding, and of the varying sympathies of different elements in the British population.

The second of Professor Annie H. Abel's volumes on the slaveholding Indians, *The American Indian as a Participant in the Civil War* (pp. 403), has been issued by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland.

Blaine, Conkling, and Garfield: a Reminiscence and a Character Study (pp. 36), by Johnson Brigham, is published by G. E. Stechert.

Messrs. Winston have brought out a *Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, by William Draper Lewis.

The *Messages, Discours, Documents Diplomatiques relatifs à la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Bossard, 1912, 2 vols., pp. 524) of President Wilson have been translated, annotated, and indexed by D. Roustan. Materials from August 15, 1914, to March 4, 1919, are included. Other French publications relating to President Wilson are Baron Henne de Goutel's *Vergennes et Wilson* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918); Charles Maurras's *Le Président Wilson* (*ibid.*, 1919); and M. Leroy's *L'Ère Wilson, la Société des Nations* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1918).

Throughout the war Mr. G. Lechartier has resided in Washington as correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*. In concise form, with many dramatic details, this very intelligent correspondent now describes, in *Intrigues et Diplomatie à Washington* (Plon-Nourrit), the operations of German diplomacy in Washington from 1914 to 1917. Photographs of many documents are presented. Other French presentations of the relations of the United States to the war include Professor A. Vialatte's *Les États-Unis d'Amérique et le Conflit Européen, 4 Août 1914-6 Avril 1917* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. 285); P. Delay's *Les États-Unis, la Guerre hors France, 1914-1918* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1919, pp. 400); and André Tardieu's *L'Amérique en Armes* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1919).

Harper and Brothers have issued a volume containing the speeches and addresses of President Wilson during his European visit. December 14, 1918, to February 14, 1919. The volume bears the title *International Ideals*.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The state historian of Maine, Dr. Henry S. Burrage, has in press for the state a volume of about 450 pages, entitled *Maine in the North-eastern Boundary Controversy*, prepared from manuscript material in the State Library, in the library of the Maine Historical Society, and in the Library of Congress. This is the first attempt to tell with any fullness the story of the controversy.

The January-March *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society has commemorative notices of Col. Charles R. Codman, Henry M. Lovering, Dr. R. H. Fitz, and Professor James B. Thayer; a paper by Mr. Ford on Ezekiel Carré and the French Church in Boston, and an amusing account of a pilgrimage to the literary Boston of 1859 by the late H. H. Gratz of Missouri. The society expects before long to publish the second volume of the *Warren-Adams Letters*, a volume of papers on Sir William Phips's search for treasure, a list of its coins and medals, and, in connection with Harvard University, a series of proclamations and other broadsides illustrative of English history.

C. E. Goodspeed and Company have published *The Plymouth Scrap Book*, containing what is described as "the oldest original documents extant in Plymouth archives", some of them given in facsimile. The volume, which is edited by Charles H. Pope, contains also a review of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*.

Volume II. of *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, by Thomas F. Waters, has lately been published by the Ipswich Historical Society.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The assembly of New York has passed a joint resolution authorizing the state historian to collect and edit for publication a body of historical and statistical material illustrating the history of the state in the war against Germany.

The New York State Historical Association expects to issue in October a first number of an official organ, *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, with contents of the varieties usual in such publications. The annual meeting will take place at Rochester on October 9, 10, and 11. There will be an address by Dr. David J. Hill, and papers on Speaker John W. Taylor, Governor George Clinton, and Governor D. D. Tompkins.

In the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* for April appears a petition to Congress of 1845, signed by many citizens of New York City, proposing a "Congress of Nations". The *Bulletin* also prints General Burgoyne's instructions to Lieut.-Col. Friedrich Baum, August 9, 1777, for the ill-fated expedition to Bennington; also the third install-

ment of R. P. Bolton's account of the explorations of the military hut-camp maintained on the Dyckman farm in the time of the Revolution.

Henry R. Drowne is the author of a *Sketch of Fraunces Tavern and those connected with its History* (New York, Sons of the Revolution).

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired the military papers of Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooke, covering the periods of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War; also a ledger of Thomas Denham, merchant and vessel owner of Philadelphia, 1726-1728. Benjamin Franklin is said to have been a clerk in Denham's establishment in this period.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an account, by Dr. Charlemagne Tower, of the residence of Joseph Bonaparte in Philadelphia and Bordentown, 1815-1832. In the same number the *Magazine* begins the publication of Selections from the Correspondence of Col. Clement Biddle. The correspondence is continued in the numbers for January and April of this year, and more is to follow. The letters thus far printed are principally from General Washington to Colonel Biddle, 1784-1789, and from Tobias Lear, 1789-1790, and pertain to business and domestic affairs. In some manner the group of letters of 1785 became chronologically jumbled. In the January number is begun a series of letters of Thomas Rodney (1744-1811), contributed by Simon Gratz, who writes an introductory note concerning Rodney's career. The earliest of the letters is of 1770; they are brought down (in the April number) to the year 1803. In the January and April numbers appear also installments of a history, by Hon. Charles I. Landis, of the Juliana Library Company in Lancaster, which appears to have had its beginning as the Lancaster Library Company in 1759. Other items of interest are: a letter of General Nathanael Greene to Dr. John Morgan, January 10, 1779 (January number), and a paper by Hon. Hampton L. Carson on Washington at Valley Forge (April).

Of the papers of Mr. George A. Cribbs on the Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania appearing in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, that in the April number is concerned with the period 1682-1800 and in particular with the Quakers' attitude toward war. This number contains also a paper by W. E. Albig on Early Development of Transportation on the Monongahela River.

Volumes XXXVII. and XXXVIII. of the *Archives of Maryland*, edited by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner and published by authority of the state under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society, have come from the press. The first is entitled *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, May, 1730-August, 1732*; the second, *Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland hitherto Unprinted, 1694-1729*.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an account of the dedication, February 18, of the H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building, the new home of the Maryland Historical Society. There are addresses by the Bishop of Maryland (Dr. John G. Murray), ex-Governor Edwin Warfield, president of the society, Governor Emerson Harrington, Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, and Professor John M. Vincent. The contents also include the introduction and first two chapters of a *Life of Thomas Johnson (1732-1819)*, member of the Continental Congress and governor of Maryland, by E. S. Delaplaine; and an account, by M. P. Andrews, of the Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment through Baltimore, April 19, 1861.

Mention should have been made in these pages of the Thomas Bray Club, which in 1916 issued reprints of seven rare books or pamphlets relating to colonial Maryland and the history of the Anglican church in the colonies, written by or closely related to Dr. Bray.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The *Proceedings of the Committees of Safety of Cumberland and Isle of Wight Counties, Virginia, 1775-1776*, edited, with an introduction, by Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, state librarian, has been issued by the Virginia State Library, bound with the *Fifteenth Annual Report* of the library board, 1917-1918. Although the proceedings of these two Virginia counties are by no means complete, they are said to be the most extensive that have survived. The Cumberland committee proceedings, which occupy 35 pages, extend from February 18, 1775, to October 28, 1776; the Isle of Wight committee proceedings (pp. 8) from January 13 to July 27, 1775. The *Bulletin* of the library for July and October, 1918 (double number, pp. 144), is an Analysis of Ruffin's *Farmers' Register*, with a Bibliography of Edmund Ruffin, by Earl G. Swem. The *Farmers' Register* was a monthly magazine edited and published by Ruffin from June, 1833, to December, 1842.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* begins in the January number its Roll of Honor, an alphabetical list of "Virginians who have died in the War for Freedom". In addition there is an extensive section of war notes concerning Virginians in the service. The Preston Papers (see this *Review*, XXIV. 340) are continued, as is also the series of documents pertaining to Virginia state troops in the Revolution.

The general assembly of North Carolina has authorized the State Historical Commission to employ "a person trained in the study of history and in modern historical methods of investigation and writing" to collect data bearing upon the activities of North Carolina and North Carolinians in the World War. The commission has employed for this work Lieut. R. B. House, a graduate of the University of North Carolina and a graduate student of Harvard University, who will enter upon

his duties July 1. Meanwhile the commission has already begun the work of collecting the material, having now in hand the records of the state council of defense and of the county councils of defense and other similar records.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has received from Hon. Joseph E. Brown of Georgia a quarto volume (108 pages) containing the orders given by Governor Tryon to the Provincials of North Carolina to march against the insurgents in 1771, together with a report of the provincial army while encamped at Husbands, Sandy Creek, May 22, 1771 (2 pages); also a journal of the expedition against the insurgents, beginning April 20, 1771, together with a plan of the camp and battle of Alamance, May 16, surveyed and drawn by C. J. Southier. These documents were formerly in the possession of Sir Henry Clinton. Other manuscripts recently acquired by the commission are 339 letters of Chief Justice Walter Clark, and letters of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, Jefferson Davis, Gen. D. H. Hill, and William A. Graham. The commission has in press vol. III. of the *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, edited by J. G. deR. Hamilton.

In *Bulletin no. 5* of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the commission, describes the history of Parris Island from the Port Royal settlement of the Huguenots down to its recent extensive use as a training-ground for United States marines.

In the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are found: an Indian land grant of 1734, copied and annotated by Miss Mabel L. Webber; continuations of Miss Webber's compilations from the marriage bonds of South Carolina and marriage and death notices from the *South Carolina Gazette and Public Advertiser*, and of the order-book of John F. Grimké; and a paper by Judge Henry A. M. Smith on Joseph West, Landgrave and Governor.

In vol. VI. of the "humanistic series" of the *Washington University Studies*, Chauncey S. Boucher of that university prints a paper on *South Carolina and the South on the Eve of Secession, 1850 to 1860* (pp. 79-144).

The issue of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, 1918, is a "Joan of Arc Number", and peculiarly enough includes proceedings of a date considerably subsequent to April. On May 1, 1918, a Joan of Arc celebration was held at the Cabildo under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society, when a statuette of Joan of Arc was presented to the society by the New York Museum of French Art. The several addresses on the occasion, together with some other related material, find place in this number of the *Quarterly*. Among the articles on other subjects are: General Collot's Reconnoitering Trip down the Mississippi and his Arrest in New Orleans in 1796 by Order of Governor Carondelet, by

Heloise H. Cruzat; the Admission of Louisiana into the Union, by Lillie Richardson, and New Orleans, by W. O. Hart. There are also two addresses, General Beauregard and General Blanchard in the Mexican War, and General Beauregard before the Civil War, by Hon. Milo B. Williams and Col. H. J. de la Vergne, respectively.

WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twelfth annual meeting at St. Louis, May 8, 9, and 10, 1919. The president, Professor Harlow Lindley, read an address on Western Travel, 1800-1820. Among the others were one on Peñalosa by Dr. C. W. Hackett; one on Jefferson Davis in Wisconsin by Dr. M. M. Quaife; one on the Last Meeting of the Confederate Cabinet by Professor J. E. Walmsley; one on the general relations of North Carolina history by Professor Archibald Henderson; a group of papers on the commerce and transportation of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers; a group describing the activities of the state governments in respect to the history of the recent war, and several Missouri papers. The teachers' session was devoted to the post-bellum reorganization of history in the schools.

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March has a paper by E. Merton Coulter of Marietta College on Commercial Intercourse with the Confederacy in the Mississippi Valley; one by Robert S. Cotterill of Western Maryland College on the Early Agitation for a Pacific Railroad, 1845-1850; one by John L. Conger of Knox College on South Carolina and the Early Tariffs, all three based on careful research; and an excellent survey of religious forces in the United States, 1815-1830, by Miss Martha L. Edwards of Lake Erie College. The documents printed are a series of letters of 1832-1833 by John Ball, an early adventurer in Oregon, who went out with Nathaniel Wyeth in the year first named.

The most important item in the contents of the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an article by Professor A. M. Schlesinger entitled Salmon Portland Chase, Undergraduate and Pedagogue, consisting largely of two groups of letters, hitherto unprinted, written by Chase to his friend Thomas Sparhawk, in 1825 and 1826 while Chase was a student in Dartmouth College, and in 1827-1830, when he was conducting a school and studying law in Washington City. Among the other articles in the *Quarterly* are Some Notes on Ohio Historiography, by Professor Clarence E. Carter, and an address delivered by Hon. Thomas Ewing at Marietta in 1858 at the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the "landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of the West".

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* consists of a second selection

from the William Greene Papers (see the *Review*, XXIII. 953), comprising twenty-one letters from Samuel F. Vinton to William Greene, written between 1833 and 1861. Vinton, a native of Massachusetts, was a member of Congress from Ohio from 1823 to 1837 and from 1843 to 1851 and a resident of Washington City during the last eight years of his life (1854 to 1862). Greene, a native of Rhode Island, was a lawyer of eminence in Cincinnati for many years, later becoming lieutenant-governor of his native state. The letters are largely concerned with politics.

The last general assembly of Indiana appropriated \$20,000 to be used by the Indiana Historical Commission in collecting and organizing historical data relating to the state's part in the recent war. Dr. John W. Oliver has been put in charge of this portion of the Commission's work. The department of Indiana history and archives, Indiana State Library, contemplates the publication in the near future of a calendar of the papers of John Tipton.

The principal articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are a paper, by Elmore Barce, on the Old Chicago Trail and the Old Chicago Road, and one by Paul T. Smith on the Militia of the United States from 1846 to 1860, and the concluding installment of Ernest D. Stewart's study of the Populist Party in Indiana.

The principal papers in the issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April, 1918, which has but recently appeared, are: Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century, by Allen Johnson; Historical Sketch of Wabash County, Illinois, by B. A. Harvey; an Old Mormon Town, Nauvoo, Illinois, by Nancy D. Clark; and Kannekuk or Keanakuk, the Kickapoo Prophet, by Milo Custer.

Most of the contents of the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* centre about Kaskaskia and Cahokia, Rev. Frederick Beuchman offering a paper on the commons of those two villages, Mr. Stewart Brown one on Old Kaskaskia Ways and Days, both to be continued, while Rev. Robert Hynes treats of the old church building at Cahokia, 1798. The editor, Joseph J. Thompson, finishes his papers on the Development of the Catholic Church in Illinois (1844-1919) and continues his series on Father Gibault; Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan writes of the Holy Family Parish in Chicago; Rev. John Rothensteiner presents letters of Archbishop Eccleston relating to the foundation of the Visitandines at Kaskaskia.

Dr. M. M. Quaife is the editor of a small volume entitled *Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago*, published in Chicago by Donnelley.

A Centennial History of the Villages of Iroquois and Montgomery and the Township of Concord [Ill.], 1818 to 1918, by Salem Ely, is brought out in Chicago (Regan).

The contents of the April number of the *Michigan History Magazine* include a paper by Hon. William L. Jenks entitled Legislation by Governor and Judges, an account of the development of the Ordinance of 1787, with some discussion of its legislative provisions, and a biographical sketch, by Hon. George W. Bates, of Dan H. Ball (1836-1918), a prominent lawyer of Marquette. Mr. Jenks's statement that the Continental Congress sat "in the same city and at the same time with the Federal Convention" in 1787 is of course erroneous.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued Dr. M. M. Quaife's volume entitled *The Movement for Statehood, 1845-1846*, which is the first volume in the *Documentary History of the Constitution* and constitutes vol. XXVI. of the society's *Collections*. The society has also issued a *Report on the Public Archives* (pp. 115), by Theodore Blegen, being a discussion of archival administration and conditions, with particular reference to Wisconsin.

The contents of the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include chapter I. of the Story of Wisconsin, by Louise P. Kellogg; a biographical sketch, by Thomas S. Johnson, of Moses Ordway, Pioneer Presbyterian Missionary; the Early History of Lafayette County, by Captain P. H. Conley; and continuations of Rev. P. Pernin's account of the great forest fires of 1871, and of the series of letters from the war, entitled "Badgers in the Great Adventure". Among the "Historical Fragments" is a brief account of the draft riots in Wisconsin during the Civil War.

The Wisconsin War History Committee has brought out *Wisconsin in the World War* (pp. 400), by R. B. Pixley.

The Minnesota War Records Commission, which has hitherto had only a provisional existence through the joint action of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety and the Minnesota Historical Society (see pp. 344, 560, *ante*), was, by a recent act of the Minnesota legislature, established upon a permanent basis and provided with funds. It is understood that during the coming biennium the commission will devote itself to the collection of materials pertaining to the history of the war and to the supervision of the work of its county committees. The commission has set forth in its *Bulletin*, no. 2, some suggestions relative to a tentative programme.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* reprints in the November number the "Dakota Portraits", a group of character sketches of Dakota Indians, written by Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, a missionary, and published in the *Minnesota Free Press* in 1858. They are edited, with an introduction, by W. M. Babcock, jr.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* reprints in the December number Professor St. George L. Sioussat's paper, Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention, which appeared in the

Mississippi Valley Historical Review for December, 1915. Mr. A. V. Goodpasture's narrative of the Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807, is concluded.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a biography of *James Baird Weaver*, by Dr. Fred E. Haynes, which appears as vol. X. of the society's *Iowa Biographical Series*; also a volume by Dr. Ruth A. Gallaher relating the history of the *Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa*. The latest issue of the *Iowa and War* series is a *Tentative Outline for a County War History*.

The articles in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: an Historical Survey of Civic Instruction and Training for Citizenship in Iowa, by Clarence R. Aurner, whose *History of Education in Iowa* is well known; and the President of the Senate in Iowa, by Cyril B. Upham.

In the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* Mr. Walter B. Stevens, continuing his sketches of Missourians Abroad, describes a number of episodes in the life of David R. Francis, lately ambassador to Russia; Mr. Robert B. Oliver gives a history of the State Flag of Missouri. The papers of R. J. Britton and of Professor Jonas Viles on Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War, and Missouri Capitals and Capitols, respectively, are continued.

The Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis has acquired the private and official letters of the last Spanish governor of Upper Louisiana, Don Carlos Dehault DeLassus; also the personal, political, and professional papers of Frederick Bates, secretary of Louisiana and Missouri territories and later governor of Missouri.

Mr. Dallas Herndon, secretary of the Arkansas History Commission, has presented to the legislature of that state an exceptionally full history of the state's activities in the World War.

The April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by J. Fred Rippey on Mexican Projects of the Confederates—a brief general sketch of their Mexican relations. In the article Literature of California History Professor Charles E. Chapman gives brief analyses and valuations of the more important works in California history.

A History of Gage County, Nebraska, by H. J. Dobbs, is put forth in Lincoln by the Western Publishing and Engraving Company.

Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of his Son William H. H. Larimer, two of the Founders of Denver City, compiled from letters and from notes of the latter by Herman S. Davis, is brought out in Pittsburgh by the compiler.

The Nevada Historical Society has published *Taxation in Nevada: a History*, by R. C. Adams.

In the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Charles W. Smith gives some account of the Clarence B. Bagley collection of newspapers, books, and other materials relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest, recently purchased by the University of Washington. Herbert H. Gowen, whose volume on Kamehameha is mentioned elsewhere in this number of the *Review*, writes concerning the Centenary of Kamehameha the Great. There is also an article by H. W. Fairweather, formerly an official of the Northern Pacific Railroad, on some aspects of the road's history. In the section of Documents appears some material relative to the northwest coast reprinted from *Niles' Register* of March 10, 1821, viz., a letter from William D. Robinson, author of *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1820), written in Washington, January 15, 1821, to Senator John H. Eaton, containing, among other things, an account of some explorations in the Northwest by Spanish friars in 1810-1811, and a letter from Commodore David Porter to President Madison, October 31, 1815, suggesting an expedition for the exploration of the northwest coast. The *Quarterly* completes in this number the publication of Washington's First Constitution, 1878, edited by John T. Condon.

In the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are found a paper by Miles Cannon on the Snake River in History, one by T. C. Elliott on the Northern Boundary of Oregon, and a continuation of Dr. L. B. Shippee's study of the Federal Relations of Oregon. The Correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher is brought down to the year 1857.

John B. Horner of Corvallis, Oregon, is the author and publisher of *Oregon, her History, her Great Men, her Literature*.

The University of California has brought out a *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*, by Professor Charles E. Chapman. The university has also published *The Northwest Company*, a history of the company's growth and activities, by G. C. Davidson.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton's long-expected translation of the *Favores Celestiales* of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (1699-1710), prepared from the manuscript discovered by him in the archives of Mexico, has now been published in two volumes (pp. 379, 329) by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland.

The Board of Commissioners of Public Archives of Hawaii have issued, as *Publication no. 1, Archives of Hawaii*, a volume of 301 pages containing a roster of the legislatures of Hawaii from 1841 to 1918, the constitutions of the monarchy and the republic, and speeches of the sovereigns and president.

The Napoleon of the Pacific: Kamehameha the Great, by Herbert

H. Gowen, D.D., F. R. G. S., is the history of the Hawaiian king who, at the close of the eighteenth century, consolidated the Hawaiian group of islands into a single monarchy (Revell).

CANADA

Mr. Hector Garneau, chief librarian of the Public Library of Montreal, expects to bring out in the autumn (Paris, Félix Alcan) the second and last volume of his edition (the fifth) of the well-known *Histoire du Canada* by his grandfather, the late François-Xavier Garneau. Mr. Garneau expects later to publish in this country and in England an English translation of the work.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The fourth volume of S. Ispizua's *Los Vascos en América* (Madrid, Rico, 1918, pp. 382) deals with the discovery of Venezuela.

Among the contents of the September-December number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* are: some reports relative to the defenses of Havana (1821-1824); a group of documents of 1851 pertaining to the insurgents; an "Expediente en que el Consul de España en Panamá comunica la salida del vapor *Hornet* para Cuba, conduciendo insurrectos y pertrechos de guerra"; and a continuation of the "Inventario general del Archivo de la Delegación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano" of New York, 1892-1898.

A new *Historia de la Independencia de México* (Madrid, Ed. América, 1918, pp. 352) is by M. Torrente.

Among the works of South American history which because of the war had not before come to our knowledge we should mention Señor Manuel S. Sánchez's *Bibliografía Venezolanista* (Caracas, *El Cojo*, 1914, pp. 494), in which writings of foreigners on Venezuela and its public men are discussed; and the third volume of Señor Carlos A. Villanueva's *La Monarquía en América: la Santa Alianza* (Paris, Paul Ollendorff), a work of the first importance for the period 1823-1826.


Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P.-G. Roy, *Les Officiers d'État-Major sous le Régime Français* [cont.] (*Revue Canadienne*, March, April, May); A. M. Schlesinger, *The American Revolution Reconsidered* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); J. A. R. Marriott, *The Foreign Policy of the United States* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); F. P. Renaut, *Le Premier Conflit Colonial Hispano-Américain: La Navigation du Mississippi, 1783-1795* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, January); Raúl de Cárdenas, *La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano*, III., IV. (*Cuba Contemporánea*, March, April); W. K. Boyd, *Federal Politics in North Carolina, 1824-1836* [concl.] (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April); Margaret A. Kelley, *James W. Marshall: Life and Reminiscences of California's Gold Discoverer* (*The Grizzly Bear*,

March, April, May); N. W. Stephenson, *The Confederacy Fifty Years After* (Atlantic Monthly, June); E. D. Ross, *Grover Cleveland and the Beginning of an Era of Reform* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); E. Mayor des Planches, *Reminiscenze di T. Roosevelt* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); E. Hovelaque, *De la Neutralité à la Croisade: L'Évolution Guerrière des États-Unis* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences Political and Personal* [cont.] (Canadian Magazine, March, April, May); F. P. Renaut, *L'Émancipation du Brésil, 1821-1823*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXII. 4); R. Blanco-Fombona, *La Revolución de Independencia Argentina: las Ideas Filosóficas* (Cuba Contemporánea, March).

INDEX

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXIV

 The names of contributors are printed in small capitals. (R) indicates that the contribution is a review

- Aabenraa convention, 235-236.
 "Abbot of Vézelay", by Rose Graham, reviewed, 290.
 ABBOTT, F. F., (R) Ferrero and Barbagallo's "Short History of Rome", I., 504.
 ABBOTT, W. C., "Expansion of Europe, 1415-1789", reviewed, 87; (R) Larned's "English Leadership", 507; *Origin of English Political Parties*, 578-602; "Colonel John Scott of Long Island", reviewed, 704.
 "Account of the Conquest of Peru", by Pedro Sancho, reviewed, 498.
 ADAMS, G. B., (R) Haskins's "Norman Institutions", 78; (R) Lesquier's "Études de M. Haskins", 78; "Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History", reviewed, 120; (R) Lavell and Payne's "Imperial England", 271.
 Adams, Henry, "Letter to American Teachers of History", 186-190; deceased, 349.
 Adams, Henry, *Education of*, by CARL BECKER, 422-434.
 Africa, ancient history of, 35.
 "Age of Big Business", by B. J. Hendrick, reviewed, 740.
 Ahlmann, N., representative of North Sleswick, 229, 232.
 Alexander I., Russia, 606, 617, 619.
 "Alfred the Great", by B. A. Lees, reviewed, 662.
 ALLEN, G. W., (R) Paine's "Old Merchant Marine", 733.
 Allin, C. D., "History of the Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies", reviewed, 130.
 Alphaud, Gabriel, "La France pendant la Guerre", reviewed, 694.
 "Alsace-Lorraine, Past, Present, and Future", by Coleman Phillipson, reviewed, 667.
 Alsace-Lorraine, Wetterlé's "Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag", reviewed, 473.
 "Altamira, Rafael, History of Spain founded on the Historia de España of", by C. E. Chapman, reviewed, 720.
 Alvensleben, Albrecht von, Count, German ambassador, 62.
 Ambler, C. H., "Life and Diary of John Floyd", reviewed, 518.
 "America and Britain", by A. C. McLaughlin, reviewed, 740.
 "America in France", by F. Palmer, reviewed, 712.
 "America, Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in", by C. M. Gayley, reviewed, 123.
 American Historical Association, 1919, 349; votes of the Council, 354; treasurer's report, 355; officers and committees, 356.
 American Historical Association, notes on, 141, 308, 746.
 American Historical Series, ed. C. H. Haskins, reviewed, 87.
 "American History, Source Problems in", by A. C. McLaughlin, W. E. Dodd, M. W. Jernegan, A. P. Scott, reviewed, 512.
 "American Jewish Historical Society, Publications of", no. 26, reviewed, 298.

- "American Literature, Cambridge History of", I., II., reviewed, 100, 702.
- American Revolution, Kite's "Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence", reviewed, 293; Merlant's "La France et la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine", reviewed, 517; Becker's "Eve of the Revolution", reviewed, 734.
- "American Revolution, Colonial Merchants and the", by A. M. Schlesinger, reviewed, 104; awarded Justin Winsor prize, 351.
- "American Spirit in Literature", by Bliss Perry, reviewed, 729.
- Ancient history, Boak's *Extraordinary Commands from 80 to 48 B. C.*, 1; Pais's "Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma", reviewed, 118; Leffingwell's "Social and Private Life at Rome", reviewed, 269; King's "Legends of Babylon and Egypt", reviewed, 463; Ferrero's "Short History of Rome", I., reviewed, 504; Frazer's "Folk-lore in the Old Testament", reviewed, 655; Burney's "Israel's Settlement in Canaan", reviewed, 719.
- ANDERSON, F. M., (R) Barclay's "Le Président Wilson et l'Évolution de la Politique Étrangère des États-Unis", 112; (R) Robinson and West's "Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson", 112; (R) Curtis's "French Assembly of 1848 and American Constitutional Doctrines", 126.
- Anderson, William, "Roots of the War", reviewed, 94.
- Andrássy, Count Julius, 196, 214.
- ANDREWS, C. M., *Current Lawful Money of New England*, 73-77; (R) Schlesinger's "Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution", 104.
- Andrews, J. B., "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- Anonymous Conqueror, "Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the Great City of Temestitan Mexico", reviewed, 498.
- "Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky prior to 1850", by A. E. Martin, reviewed, 137.
- Antonius, Marcus, praetor, 8, 11.
- Arbuckle, Mathew, letter from, 263.
- "Argentina, Campañas Navales de la República", by A. J. Carranza, reviewed, 743.
- Argentina, Silva's "El Libertador Bolívar y el Deán Funes", reviewed, 116.
- Armed Neutrality, United States and the Abortive, of 1794*, by S. F. BEMIS, 26-47; blockade of France, 27-30; project for a neutral counter-coalition, 31-32; Danish-Swedish convention, 32-33; British-American crisis, 34-39; Jay mission, 39-47.
- Augustenborg, Frederick, duke of, claim to North Sleswick, 227, 251.
- Augustus Caesar, 1, 23-25.
- Australia, Allin's "Tariff Relations", reviewed, 130.
- Austria-Hungary, Larmeroux's "La Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie", reviewed, 510; Guglia's "Maria Theresia", reviewed, 674.
- "Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian", by S. W. Pennypacker, reviewed, 110.
- "Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire", ed. G. Davies, reviewed, 506.
- BABCOCK, K. C., (R) Hockett's "Western Influence on Political Parties", 300; (R) McMaster's "Life and Times of Stephen Girard", 706.
- Back to Peace in 1865*, by C. R. FISH, 435-443.
- Balch, T. W., "World Court in the Light of the United States Supreme Court", reviewed, 521.
- Balkan Peninsula, Cvijić's "La Péninsule Balkanique", reviewed, 690.
- Barbagallo, Corrado, "Short History of Rome", I., reviewed, 504.
- Barclay, T., "Le Président Wilson et l'Évolution de la Politique Étrangère des États-Unis", reviewed, 122.
- Barnburners, 415.
- Barnes, H. E., "History of the Penal, Reformatory, and Correctional Institutions of New Jersey", reviewed, 515.

- Barnwell, John, report to Gov. Craven, 392.
- Bassett, J. S., "Lost Fruits of Waterloo", reviewed, 509.
- Baxter, C. N., "Confederate Literature", reviewed, 492.
- Beard, C. A., "National Governments and the World War", reviewed, 693.
- Beardsley, Samuel, att'y-gen. of N. Y., 408, 415.
- "Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence", by E. S. Kite, reviewed, 293.
- BECKER, CARL, (R) Teggart's "Processes of History", 266; *Education of Henry Adams*, 422-434; "Eve of the Revolution", reviewed, 734.
- Beckwith, George, relations with Hamilton, 29.
- "Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag", by E. Wetterlé, reviewed, 473.
- Belgium, Vander Linden's "Vue Générale de l'Histoire de Belgique", reviewed, 121.
- BELL, H. C., (R) Palmer's "America in France", 712.
- Bellomont, Richard Coote, earl of, gov. of N. Y., 383.
- Below, G. von, "Die Ursachen der Reformation", reviewed, 468.
- BEMIS, S. F., *United States and the Abortive Armed Neutrality of 1794*, 26-47.
- Benedictines, English, and their Bishops in the Thirteenth Century*, by A. H. SWEET, 565-577.
- "Benjamin Franklin Self-revealed", by W. C. Bruce, reviewed, 483.
- Benton, T. H., 415.
- Bernstein, Herman, (ed.) "Willy-Nicky Correspondence", 48, 50.
- Bernstorff, Andreas Peter, Count von, Danish chancellor, 30-31, 37, 47.
- Bibliography, Baxter and Dearborn's "Confederate Literature", reviewed, 492.
- Biblioteca Ayacucho, ed. Rufino Blanco-Fombona, 116.
- Bibliothèque France-Amérique, reviewed, 517.
- Bieber, R. P., "Lords of Trade and Plantations", reviewed, 732.
- Bienville, Sieur de, 388-391, 394.
- "Biografía del General José Félix Ribas", by J. V. González, reviewed, 116.
- Birdsall, Benjamin, Dem.-Rep. leader, 404.
- Bismarck, Otto von, prince, 196-226, 229-232.
- Bitter, von, Oberpräsident of Sleswick-Holstein, 242-243.
- Björkö, treaty of, 48-72.
- Blake, Joseph, deputy gov. of S. C., 380, 383-384.
- Blakiston, Nathaniel, gov. of Md., 73.
- Blanco-Fombona, Rufino, (ed.) *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, 116.
- Bland, J. O. P., "Li Hung Chang", reviewed, 92.
- Blowitz, H. G. S. de, Paris correspondent of London "Times", 211, 223.
- Blücher, G. L. von, prince, at Montmirail, 619.
- BOAK, A. E. R., *Extraordinary Commands from 80 to 48 B. C.: a Study in the Origins of the Principate*, 1-25; (R) Simonds's "History of the World War", 295; (R) Freytag-Loringhoven's "Nation Trained in Arms", 504.
- BOGART, E. L., (R) Clark, Hamilton, and Moulton's "Readings in the Economics of War", 477.
- "Bolívar, El Libertador, y el Deán Funes", by J. F. V. Silva, reviewed, 116.
- Bonaparte, Joseph, and Italy, 606; king of Naples, 607, 608; king of Spain, 610, 613.
- Boston Athenaeum, "Confederate Literature", by C. N. Baxter and J. M. Dearborn, reviewed, 492.
- "Bottomley, Edwin, English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin: Letters of", ed. M. M. Quaife, reviewed, 519.
- BOURNE, H. E., (R) Mathiez's "La Révolution et les Étrangers", 125.
- Bourtsev, Vladimir, Russian revolutionary, 48.
- "Brest-Litowsk", by S. Grumbach, reviewed, 511.
- "British Army, History of the", VIII., by J. W. Fortescue, reviewed, 89.
- British Empire, Lavell and Payne's

- "Imperial England", reviewed, 271;
Pulsford's "Commerce and the Empire", reviewed, 296.
- BROGLIE, J. V. A., duc de, 199-200, 224-225.
- BRONSON, W. C., (R) "Cambridge History of American Literature", I., II., 100, 702; (R) Perry's "American Spirit in Literature", 729.
- BROOKS, R. C., "Government and Politics of Switzerland", reviewed, 508.
- BROWN, P. A., "French Revolution in English History", reviewed, 676.
- BROWN, P. H., deceased, 526.
- BRUCE, W. C., "Benjamin Franklin Self-revealed", reviewed, 483.
- BRUNSWICK-OELS, duke of, 611.
- BRYANT, W. C., 399-400.
- BUCHANAN, James, 641-653.
- BUCK, S. J., (R) Hansen's "Old Fort Snelling", 139.
- BUCKINGHAM, George Villiers, 2nd duke of, 600.
- BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, "Publications", XXII., ed. F. H. Severance, reviewed, 137.
- BÜLOW, Prince von, 50-65.
- BURKE, Edmund, quoted, 579.
- BURNEY, C. F., "Israel's Settlement in Canaan", reviewed, 719.
- BURNSIDE, Gen. A. E., suppresses Chicago "Times", 628.
- BURR, G. L., (R) Abbott's "Colonel John Scott", 704.
- BURRAGE, Champlin, (ed.) "John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony", reviewed, 281.
- BUTLER, PIERCE, (R) Lonn's "Reconstruction in Louisiana", 109.
- CADILLAC, A. de La Mothe, Indian policy of, 392-393.
- CAESAR, Julius, 14, 16-22.
- CALHOUN, A. W., "Social History of the American Family", III., reviewed, 700.
- CALLAHAN, J. M., (R) Balch's "World Court in the Light of the United States Supreme Court", 521; (R) Ogg and Beard's "National Governments and the World War", 693.
- "Calvin, A Study of, and Other Papers", by Allan Menzies, reviewed, 469.
- CAMBRELING, C. C., 399, 410, 415, 419.
- "Cambridge History of American Literature", I., II., ed. W. P. Trent, J. Erskine, S. P. Sherman, Carl van Doren, 100, 702.
- Camden third series, XXVIII., reviewed, 506.
- "Campañas Navales de la República Argentina", by A. J. Carranza, reviewed, 743.
- "Canada, Evolution of the Dominion of", by Edward Porritt, reviewed, 286, 524.
- CANNON, H. L., deceased, 527.
- CANTILUPE, T. de, bishop of Hereford, 571.
- Captain Nathaniel Pryor (doc.), 253-265.
- "Caracas, La Revolución de, y sus Próceres", by A. F. Ponte, reviewed, 743.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, publications reviewed, 709.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, publications reviewed, 687.
- Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Historical Research, publications reviewed, 280.
- CARRANZA, A. J., "Campañas Navales de la República Argentina", reviewed, 743.
- "Carroll, Life of Charles, of Carrollton", by L. A. Leonard, reviewed, 485.
- "Cartas de China", ed. O. Maas, reviewed, 128.
- Castlemaine, Lady, and the Cabal, 593.
- Castlereagh, Viscount, at congress of Châtillon, 620.
- Catulus, Caius Lutatius, 4-5.
- "Century of Negro Migration", by C. G. Woodson, reviewed, 520.
- Cestre, Charles, "France, England and European Democracy", reviewed, 472.
- Chadwick, F. E., deceased, 526.
- CHANDLER, C. L., (R) Carranza's "Campañas Navales de la República Argentina", 743.

- "Chandler, Public Life of Zachariah", by W. C. Harris, reviewed, 135.
- Chapman, C. E., "History of Spain", reviewed, 720.
- Charles II., England, 586-591, 597, 599-600.
- Charles, prince of Denmark, elected King of Norway, 66.
- "Chartist Movement", by Mark Howell, reviewed, 90.
- CHESTER, C. M., (R) Westcott's "Mahān on Naval Warfare", 718.
- Chevalier, Michel, quoted, 418.
- Chicago Historical Society Collection, X., reviewed, 139.
- Chicago University Materials for the Study of Economics, reviewed, 477.
- Chicago University Supplementary Educational Monographs, III., reviewed, 486.
- China, Bland's "Li Hung Chang", reviewed, 92; Maas's "Cartas de China", reviewed, 128.
- Chouteau, P. L., letters from, 264-265.
- CHRISTIE, F. A., (R) Hale's "Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale", 302.
- "Chronicles of America", XI., XIV., XXXIV., XXXVI., XXXIX., reviewed, 729, 733, 734, 735.
- Civil Service reform, Foulke's "Fighting the Spoilsmen", reviewed, 710.
- Civil War, FISH's *Back to Peace in 1865*, 435-443; DUNNING's *Disloyalty in Two Wars*, 625-630.
- "Civil War, History of", by J. F. Rhodes, reviewed, 520.
- Clarendon, Edward Hyde, earl of, and English parties, 581, 589-595.
- Clark, A. H., deceased, 349, 326.
- Clark, J. M., "Readings in the Economics of War", reviewed, 477.
- Clark, William, letter from, 260.
- CLARK, V. S., (R) Grumbach's "Brest-Litowsk", 511.
- Clarke, Maj. F. C. H., 631.
- Clarke, H. J. G., and treaty of Oubril, 608.
- Clifford, Thomas, 1st baron, 581.
- Coalition of Europe against Napoleon*, by ÉDOUARD DRIAULT, 603-624; convention of St. Petersburg, 604-606; Austerlitz, 607; defeat of Prussia, 608-609; Tilsit, 610; resistance in Spain, 611; Wagram, 612-613; the Grand Empire, 614-617; the Russian retreat, 617; coalition of the kings, 618-620; the kings and the Congress of Vienna, 621-624.
- "Cobden, Richard, the International Man", by J. A. Hobson, reviewed, 685.
- Cochin, Denys, "Louis-Philippe d'après des Documents Inédits", reviewed, 471.
- COLE, A. C., (R) Roberts's "Lincoln in Illinois", 302.
- Coleman, Frederic, "Japan or Germany", reviewed, 512.
- "Colonel John Scott of Long Island", by W. C. Abbott, reviewed, 704.
- "Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution", by A. M. Schlesinger, reviewed, 104; awarded Justin Winsor prize, 351.
- "Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications of", XIX., reviewed, 732.
- Colonies, American, Gayley's "Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America", reviewed, 123; CRANE's *Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War*, 379-395; Bieber's "Lords of Trade and Plantations", reviewed, 732.
- Colorado University Historical Collections, Colony ser. I., reviewed, 739.
- "Columbia Historical Society, Records of", XXI., reviewed, 299.
- Columbia University Germanic Studies, reviewed, 722.
- Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, LXXVI., LXXVIII., LXXXI., LXXXIV., reviewed, 104, 136, 269, 731.
- Commerce, Unwin's "Finance and Trade under Edward III.", reviewed, 81.
- "Commerce and the Empire", by Edward Pulsford, reviewed, 296.
- Commons, J. R., "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- "Confederate Literature", by C. N. Baxter and J. M. Dearborn, reviewed, 492.

- "Connecticut in Transition", by R. J. Purcell, reviewed, 736.
- "Conspiration de l'Étranger", by Albert Mathiez, reviewed, 724.
- "Constantinople, Two War Years in", by Harry Stuermer, reviewed, 97.
- "Constitution Making in Indiana", by Charles Kettleborough, reviewed, 303.
- "Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union", by J. G. S. MacNeill, reviewed, 272.
- "Conversion of Europe", by C. H. Robinson, reviewed, 464.
- COOLIDGE, A. C., (R) Larmeroux's "Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie", 510.
- Cortes Society, Documents and Narratives, nos. 1, 2, reviewed, 498.
- CORWIN, E. S., (R) Root's "Miscellaneous Addresses", 132; (R) Kite's "Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence", 293; communication from, 306; (R) Merlant's "La France et la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine", 517.
- Cotta, 6-8, 22.
- Cox, I. J., "West Florida Controversy", reviewed, 105.
- Coxe, Daniel, and control of the Mississippi, 383.
- CRANE, V. W., *Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War*, 379-395.
- Crassus, Marcus Licinius, 9, 14, 18-20.
- Craven, Charles, gov. of Carolina, 392-393.
- Crawford, Mr., in Wisconsin constitutional convention, 420.
- Crittenden, Robert, 254.
- Cromwell, Oliver, 585-586.
- Cromwell, Richard, 586.
- CROSS, A. L., (R) Jones's "Warren Hastings in Bengal", 724.
- Crosswell, Edwin, "Hunker" leader, 408, 415.
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A., (R) Fortescue's "History of the British Army", VIII, 89.
- "Cuba, Early History of, 1492-1586", by I. A. Wright, reviewed, 500.
- Cuba, Wright's "Santiago de Cuba and its District", reviewed, 742.
- Current Lawful Money of New England*, by C. M. ANDREWS, 73-77.
- Curtis, E. N., "French Assembly of 1848 and American Constitutional Doctrines", reviewed, 126.
- Cvijić, Jovan, "La Péninsule Balkanique: Géographie Humaine", reviewed, 690.
- DABNEY, R. H., (R) Ford's "Washington and his Colleagues", 735.
- Danby, Thomas Osborne, earl of, leader of Court party, 581, 601-602.
- Davenport, F. G., "European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648", reviewed, 280.
- Davies, G., (ed.) "Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore", reviewed, 506.
- Davis, W. S., "Roots of the War", reviewed, 94.
- Davout, L. N., marshal of France, 616.
- "Dawn of the French Renaissance", by Arthur Tilley, reviewed, 466.
- Dearborn, J. M., "Confederate Literature", reviewed, 492.
- Decaen, Gen. C. M. I., in the East Indies, 605.
- Decazes, Elie, Duc, French minister of foreign affairs, 199-217.
- "Deeper Causes of the War", by E. Hovelague, reviewed, 677.
- Delane, J. T., ed. London "Times", 211.
- Delbrück, Hans, 248.
- Delcassé, Théophile, and the Morocco crisis, 63-65.
- Denmark, diplomatic history of, 29-47; Egan's "Ten Years near the German Frontier", reviewed, 692.
- Denmark, and Sleswick, 227-252.
- DENNIS, A. L. P., (R) Roberts's "Historical Geography of the British Dependencies", VII, pt. 1, 122.
- Derby, E. H: Stanley, 15th earl of, foreign secretary, 210, 213, 214, 223.
- Dering, Thomas, case of, *versus* Packer, 76.
- Deschanel, Paul, (introd.) "La France pendant la Guerre", reviewed, 694.

- "Development of Japan", by K. S. Latourette, reviewed, 128.
- "Development of the United States from Colonies to a World Power", by Max Farrand, reviewed, 478.
- Dexter, F. B., "Miscellaneous Historical Papers", reviewed, 514.
- Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy, 1849-1851, 1857 (doc.)*, 444-462, 641-653.
- Dickinson, D. S., "Hunker" leader, 415.
- Dierauer, Johannes, "Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft", V., reviewed, 683.
- Dietz, F. C., (R) Jones's "Household of a Tudor Nobleman", 291.
- Dillon, E. J., "Eclipse of Russia", reviewed, 475.
- Diplomatic history, BEMIS's *United States and the Abortive Armed Neutrality of 1794*, 26-47; FAY's *Kaiser's Secret Negotiations with the Tsar*, 48-72; Cox's "West Florida Controversy", reviewed, 105; Robinson and West's "Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson", reviewed, 112; Weil's "La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric", reviewed, 124; Moore's "Principles of American Diplomacy", reviewed, 131; FULLER's *The War-Scare of 1875*, 196-226; Oakes and Mowat's "Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century", reviewed, 275; Munroe Smith's "Militarism and Statecraft", reviewed, 278; Davenport's "European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States", reviewed, 280; Phillimore's "Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace", reviewed, 292; Scott's "Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany", reviewed, 494; Bassett's "Lost Fruits of Waterloo", reviewed, 509; Larmeroux's "Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie", reviewed, 510; Grumbach's "Brest-Litowsk", reviewed, 511; DRIAULT's *The Coalition of Europe against Napoleon*, 603-624.
- Disloyalty in Two Wars*, by W. A. DUNNING, 625-630.
- Diverging Tendencies in New York Democracy in the Period of the Locofocos*, by W. J. TRIMBLE, 396-421; radicalism in New York, 396-399; leaders and doctrines, 400-405; the credit system, 406-408; Van Buren and the Locofocos, 409-416; influence of radical ideals, 417-421.
- Dix, J. A., 408, 415.
- "Doctrinal Standards of Methodism, including the Methodist Episcopal Churches", by T. B. Neely, reviewed, 133.
- Dodd, W. E., "Source Problems in American History", reviewed, 512; (R) "Papers of Thomas Ruffin", I., 299.
- Dodsworth, Anthony, Indian trader, 382.
- Domitius Ahenobarbus, praetor, 5.
- Dorchester, Guy Carleton, Baron, gov.-gen. of Canada, 35, 39, 42.
- DOUGLAS, W. B., (doc.) *Captain Nathaniel Pryor*, 253-265; (R) Violette's "History of Missouri", 284; (R) Villiers's "Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans", 479.
- Dow, E. W., (R) Graham's "Abbot of Vézelay", 290.
- Drake, Francis, despatches, 40.
- DRIAULT, ÉDOUARD, *Coalition of Europe against Napoleon*, 603-624.
- Dubnow, S. M., "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland", II., reviewed, 726.
- Duclaux, Mary, "Short History of France", reviewed, 660.
- Ducrot, Gen. A. A., 632.
- DUGGAN, S. P., (R) Laffan's "Guardians of the Gate", reviewed, 93.
- DUNN, W. E., (R) Kirkpatrick's "South America and the War", 744.
- DUNNING, W. A., *Disloyalty in Two Wars*, 625-630.
- Dupont, Gen. P. A., at Baylen, 611.
- Duruy, Georges, deceased, 144.
- DUTCHER, G. M., (R) Cochins's "Louis-Philippe", 471; (R) Cestre's

- "France, England, and European Democracy", 472.
 du Val, E. W., statement of, 256, 259.
- "Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586", by I. A. Wright, reviewed, 500.
- East India Company, Roberts's "Historical Geography of the British Dependencies", VII., pt. 1, reviewed, 122.
- ECKENRODE, H. J., (R) Flippin's "Royal Government in Virginia", 731.
- "Eclipse of Russia", by E. J. Dillon, reviewed, 475.
- Economic conditions, Jones's "Household of a Tudor Nobleman", reviewed, 291.
- "Economic Development of Modern Europe", by F. A. Ogg, reviewed, 273.
- Economic history, Unwin's "Finance and Trade under Edward III.", reviewed, 81; Gray's "War Time Control of Industry", reviewed, 96; Putnam's "Illinois and Michigan Canal", reviewed, 139; Pulsford's "Commerce and the Empire", reviewed, 296; FORD's *Prussian Peasantry before 1807*, 358-378; Commons's "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- "Economic Legislation in Iowa, History of", by I. L. Pollock, reviewed, 304.
- "Economics of War, Readings in the", by J. M. Clark, W. H. Hamilton, H. G. Moulton, reviewed, 477.
- Education of Henry Adams*, by CARL BECKER, 422-434.
- "Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York from 1777 to 1850", by E. G. Hobson, reviewed, 486.
- Edward VII., relations with William II., 54-56.
- EDWARDS, M. L., (R) "English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin", 519; (R) Pease's "The Frontier State", 708.
- Egan, M. F., "Ten Years near the German Frontier", reviewed, 692.
- Elliott, C. B., "Philippines to the End of the Commission Government"; "Philippines to the End of the Military Régime", reviewed, 113.
- EMERTON, EPHRAIM, (R) Nichols's "Epistles of Erasmus", III., 669.
- Engeström, Laurent von, Swedish diplomat, 37-38, 43.
- "England, Imperial", by C. F. Lavell and C. E. Payne, reviewed, 271.
- English Benedictines and their Bishops in the Thirteenth Century*, by A. H. SWEET, 565-577; abbatial elections, 565-568; episcopal visitations, 568-574; synods, provincial and diocesan, 574-575; monasteries as patrons, 576-577.
- "English Constitutional History, Outline Sketch of", by G. B. Adams, reviewed, 120.
- English history, Unwin's "Finance and Trade under Edward III.", reviewed, 81; Hovell's "Chartist Movement", reviewed, 90; Jones's "Household of a Tudor Nobleman", reviewed, 291; Lees's "Alfred the Great", reviewed, 662.
- "English History, French Revolution in", by P. A. Brown, reviewed, 676.
- "English Leadership", by J. N. Larned, reviewed, 507.
- English Political Parties, Origin of*, by W. C. ABBOTT, 578-602.
- "English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin: the Letters of Edwin Bottomley", ed. M. M. Quaife, reviewed, 519.
- "Epistles of Erasmus", III., by F. M. Nichols, reviewed, 669.
- Equal Rights party, TRIMBLE's *New York Democracy and the Locofocos*, 396-421.
- "Erasmus, Epistles of", III., by F. M. Nichols, reviewed, 669.
- Erenheim, Swedish minister at Copenhagen, 31.
- Erskine, J., (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", I., II., reviewed, 100, 702.
- Esarey, Logan, "History of Indiana", II., reviewed, 738.
- Europe, Bassett's "Lost Fruits of Waterloo", reviewed, 509; Stern's

- "Geschichte Europas", III., VII., reviewed, 680, 726.
- Europe, Coalition of, against Napoleon*, by ÉDOUARD DRIAULT, 603-624.
- "Europe, Conversion of", by C: H: Robinson, reviewed, 464.
- "Europe, Economic Development of Modern", by F: A. Ogg, reviewed, 273.
- "Europe, Expansion of", by W. C. Abbott, reviewed, 87.
- "European History, Modern and Contemporary", by J. S. Schapiro, reviewed, 276.
- "European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648", by F. G. Davenport, reviewed, 280.
- "European Treaties, Great, of the Nineteenth Century", by A. Oakes and R. B. Mowat, reviewed, 275.
- "Eve of the Revolution", by Carl Becker, reviewed, 734.
- "Evolution of Prussia", by J. A. R. Marriott and C. G. Robertson, reviewed, 677.
- "Evolution of the Dominion of Canada", by Edward Porritt, reviewed, 286, 524.
- "Expansion of Europe, 1415-1789", by W. C. Abbott, reviewed, 87.
- Extraordinary Commands from 80 to 48 B. C.: a Study in the Origins of the Principate*, by A. E. R. BOAK, 1-25; senatorial control, 2-11; rivalry of Senate and Comitia, 11-16; Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, 16-23; Pompey's relation to Augustus, 23-25.
- Faris, J: T., "Romance of Old Philadelphia", reviewed, 516.
- Farnam, H: W., (introd.) "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- Farrand, Max, "Development of the United States from Colonies to a World Power", reviewed, 478.
- FAUST, A. B., (R) Dierauer's "Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft", V., 683.
- FAY, S. B., *Kaiser's Secret Negotiations with the Tsar, 1904-1905*, 48-72; (R) Dillon's "Eclipse of Russia", 475; (R) Guglia's "Maria Theresia", 674; (R) Gourko's "War and Revolution in Russia", 695.
- "Federal Military Pensions in the United States", by W: H. Glasson, reviewed, 709.
- Federalism, Ford's "Washington and his Colleagues", reviewed, 735.
- Fenwick, C: G., (trans.) Wehberg and Schücking's "The Work of the Hague", reviewed, 687.
- Ferrero, Guglielmo, "Short History of Rome", I., reviewed, 504.
- FIFE, R. H., (R) Wetterlé's "Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag", 473.
- "Fighting the Spoilsman", by W: D. Foulke, reviewed, 710.
- Filson Club Publications, no. 29, reviewed, 137.
- "Finance and Trade under Edward III.", ed. George Unwin, reviewed, 81.
- Finckenstein, Count, Prussian minister of foreign affairs, 39.
- FISH, C. R., *Back to Peace in 1865*, 435-443.
- Flagg, A. C., 408, 415.
- Flippin, P. S., "Royal Government in Virginia", reviewed, 731.
- "Floyd, John, Life and Diary of", by C: H. Ambler, reviewed, 518.
- "Folk-lore in the Old Testament", by Sir J. G. Frazer, reviewed, 655.
- FORD, H: J., (R) Purcell's "Connecticut in Transition", 736.
- FORD, G. S., *Prussian Peasantry before 1807*, 358-378.
- "Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson", by E. E. Robinson and V. J. West, reviewed, 112.
- Fortescue, J. W., "History of the British Army", VIII., reviewed, 89.
- Foulke, W: D., "Fighting the Spoilsman", reviewed, 710.
- Fox, Charles, negotiations with Talleyrand, 607; death, 608.
- France, diplomatic history of, 27-47, 196-226; Cochin's "Louis-Philippe", reviewed, 471.
- "France, England, and European Democracy", by Charles Cestre, reviewed, 472.

- "France et la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine", by J. Merlant, reviewed, 517.
- "France, Mediaeval and Modern: a History", by Arthur Hassall, reviewed, 721.
- "France pendant la Guerre", by G. Alphaud, reviewed, 694.
- "France, Short History of", by Mary Duclaux, reviewed, 660.
- "Franciscan History, Studies in English", by A. G. Little, reviewed, 80.
- FRANCKE, KUNO, (R) Zeydel's "Holy Roman Empire in German Literature", 722.
- "Franklin, Benjamin, Self-revealed", by W. C. Bruce, reviewed, 483.
- FRARY, D. P., "How the World Votes", reviewed, 654.
- Frazer, Sir J. G., "Folk-lore in the Old Testament", reviewed, 655.
- Frederick II., Weil's "La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric", reviewed, 124.
- Frederick William III., 606, 616, 617, 619.
- "French Assembly of 1848 and American Constitutional Doctrines", by E. N. Curtis, reviewed, 126.
- "French Protestantism", by C. G. Kelly, reviewed, 505.
- French Revolution, Mathiez's "La Révolution et les Étrangers", reviewed, 125; *id.*, "La Conspiration de l'Étranger", reviewed, 724.
- "French Revolution in English History", by P. A. Brown, reviewed, 676.
- Freytag-Loringhoven, von, "A Nation Trained in Arms or a Militia", reviewed, 504.
- "Frontier State", by T. C. Pease, reviewed, 708.
- Frost, Wesley, "German Submarine Warfare", reviewed, 297.
- FULLER, J. V., *War-Scare of 1875*, 196-226.
- "Funes, El Libertador Bolívar y el Deán", by J. F. V. Silva, reviewed, 116.
- Gabinus, Aulus, tribune, 11.
- Gallup, Albert, 413.
- Gauss, Christian, "Why We Went to War", reviewed, 522.
- Gavard, C., French chargé at London, 213.
- Gavrillière, G. de la, plot against Napoleon, 607.
- Gayley, C. M., "Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America", reviewed, 123.
- Geffcken, Dr. F. H., 198, 208, 223.
- General Staffs, Historical Work* by, by R. V. D. MAGOFFIN, 630-636.
- "George Westinghouse, his Life and Achievements", by F. E. Leupp, reviewed, 283.
- "Georgia as a Proprietary Province", by J. R. McCain, reviewed, 481.
- "German Submarine Warfare", by Wesley Frost, reviewed, 297.
- Germany, diplomatic history of, 48-72, 196-226; Greenfield's "Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg", reviewed, 121; Mühlon's "Vandal of Europe", reviewed, 294; Wetterlé's "Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag", reviewed, 473; Grumbach's "Brest-Litowsk", reviewed, 511; Marriott and Robertson's "Evolution of Prussia", reviewed, 677.
- "Germany, Protestantism in", by K. D. Macmillan, reviewed, 86.
- "Germany, Survey of International Relations between the United States and", by J. B. Scott, reviewed, 494.
- "Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft", by Johannes Dierauer, reviewed, V., 683.
- "Geschichte der Ukraine", by M. Hruschewskyj, reviewed, 666.
- "Geschichte Europas seit den Verrägen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871", III., VII., by Alfred Stern, reviewed, 680, 726.
- Gibb, E. J. W., Memorial series, XVI., reviewed, 290.
- Gibson, Mr., in Wisconsin constitutional convention, 419.
- Giffard, Godfrey, bishop of Worcester, 573-574.
- Giffard, Walter, archbishop of York, 566, 570, 573.
- "Girard, Stephen, Life and Times

- of", by J. B. McMaster, reviewed, 706.
- Glasson, W. H., "Federal Military Pensions in the United States", reviewed, 709.
- GOLDER, F. A., (R) Coleman's "Japan or Germany", 512; (R) Hruschewskyj's "Geschichte der Ukraine", 666.
- Gontaut-Biron, Viscount de, 196-197, 201-207, 217, 219-223.
- González, J. V., "Biografía del General José Félix Ribas", reviewed, 116.
- Gorchakov, A. M., prince, 197-222.
- Gosses, I. H., "Handboek tot de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland", reviewed, 663.
- "Gothic History of Jordanes", by C. C. Mierow, reviewed, 659.
- "Goulart, Simon, 1543-1628", by L. C. Jones, reviewed, 506.
- Gourko, Basil, "War and Revolution in Russia", reviewed, 695.
- "Government and Politics of Switzerland", by R. C. Brooks, reviewed, 508.
- Government Handbooks, ed. D. P. Barrows and T. H. Reed, reviewed, 286, 508.
- Graham, Rose, "Abbot of Vézelay", reviewed, 290.
- Gray, H. L., "War Time Control of Industry", reviewed, 96.
- Gray, Walter, archbishop of York, 571.
- "Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century", by Augustus Oakes and R. B. Mowat, reviewed, 275.
- Great War, Davis's "Roots of the War", reviewed, 94; Gray's "War Time Control of Industry", reviewed, 96; Stuermer's "Two War Years in Constantinople", reviewed, 97; "Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations", reviewed, 127; Simonds's "History of the World War", reviewed, 295; Frost's "German Submarine Warfare", reviewed, 297; Clark, Hamilton, and Moulton's "Readings in the Economics of War", reviewed, 477; McMaster's "United States in the World War", reviewed, 496; Coleman's "Japan or Germany", reviewed, 512; Gauss's "Why We Went to War", reviewed, 522; DUNNING's *Disloyalty in Two Wars*, 625-630; TAYLOR's *History of the War of 1917*, 637-640; Hovelaque's "Deeper Causes of the War", reviewed, 677; Ogg and Beard's "National Governments and the World War", reviewed, 693; Alphaud's "La France pendant la Guerre", reviewed, 694; Palmer's "America in France", reviewed, 712; Kjellen's "Die Politischen Probleme des Weltkrieges", reviewed, 727; Kirkpatrick's "South America and the War", reviewed, 744.
- "Greeley, Colorado, The Union Colony at", ed. J. F. Willard, reviewed, 739.
- Greeley, Horace, quoted, 407, 411.
- Greenfield, K. R., "Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg", reviewed, 121.
- GREGORY, C. N., (R) Scott's "International Relations between the United States and Germany", 494.
- Grenville, W. W., baron, and Jay Treaty, 36-45.
- Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, 566.
- Grouvelle, Philippe de, French diplomat, 30-47.
- Grumbach, S., "Brest-Litowsk", reviewed, 511.
- Grushevski, *see* Hruschewskyj.
- "Guardians of the Gate: Historical Lectures on the Serbs", by R. G. D. Laffan, reviewed, 93.
- Guglia, Eugen, "Maria Theresia", reviewed, 674.
- "Guise, Memoirs of the Family of, of Elmore", ed. G. Davies, reviewed, 506.
- "Hague, Work of the", by W. Schücking and H. Wehberg, reviewed, 687.
- Hale, E. E., "Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale", reviewed, 302.
- HALL, W. P., (R) Hovell's "Chartist Movement", 90; (R) Hobson's "Richard Cobden", 685.
- Hamilton, Alexander, 29-47.
- Hamilton, J. G. deR., (ed.) "Papers

- of Thomas Ruffin", I., reviewed, 299.
- HAMILTON, P. J., (R) Cox's "West Florida Controversy", 105.
- Hamilton, W. H., "Readings in the Economics of War", reviewed, 477.
- Hammond, George, British minister, 29, 34-42, 44.
- HAMMOND, M. B., (R) Commons's "History of Labour in the United States", 698.
- Hamtramck, J. F., letter from, 260.
- "Handboek tot de Staatskundige Geschiedenis van Nederland", by I. H. Gosses and N. Japikse, reviewed, 663.
- Hanotaux, Gabriel, (introd.) "Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans", reviewed, 479.
- Hansen, Jules, 229-230.
- Hansen, M. L., "Old Fort Snelling", reviewed, 139.
- Hanssen-Nörremölle, H. P., Danish nationalist, 236, 250.
- Hardenberg, K. A. von, agrarian reforms of, 370, 616.
- HARDING, S. B., (R) Gauss's "Why We Went to War", 522.
- HARPER, G. M., (R) Alphaud's "La France pendant la Guerre", 694.
- Harper's Citizen's Series, reviewed, 131.
- Harris, W. C., "Public Life of Zachariah Chandler", reviewed, 135.
- Hart, C. H., deceased, 144.
- Harvard Historical Studies, XXIV., reviewed, 78.
- Harvard Political Classics, I., reviewed, 672.
- Haskins, C. H., "Norman Institutions", reviewed, 78; (ed.) American Historical Series, reviewed, 87.
- "Haskins, Les Études de M., sur les Institutions Normandes de Guillaume le Conquérant au XIII^e Siècle", by Jean Lesquier, reviewed, 78.
- Hassall, Arthur, "France, Mediaeval and Modern", reviewed, 721.
- Hastings, Capt. Théophilus, expedition against Choctaw, 392.
- "Hastings, Warren, in Bengal", by M. E. M. Jones, reviewed, 724.
- Haugwitz, C. A. H. K. von, Count, 606.
- HAZEN, C. D., (R) Duclaux's "Short History of France", 660; (R) Philipson's "Alsace-Lorraine", 667.
- Hendrick, B. J., "Age of Big Business", reviewed, 740.
- HERSHEY, A. S., (R) Moore's "Principles of American Diplomacy", 131.
- "Higher Learning in America: a Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men", by Thorstein Veblen, reviewed, 714.
- HILL, C. E., (R) Allin's "History of the Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies", 130.
- "Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans", by M. de Villiers, reviewed, 479.
- "Historic Mackinac" by E. O. Wood, reviewed, 102.
- "Historical Geography of the British Dependencies", VII., "India", pt. 1, by P. E. Roberts, reviewed, 122.
- Historical Work by Army General Staffs*, by R. V. D. MAGOFFIN, 630-636.
- Historiography, MAGOFFIN's *Historical Work by Army General Staffs*, 630-636; TAYLOR's *History of the War of 1917*, 637-640.
- "History of Economic Legislation in Iowa", by I. L. Pollock, reviewed, 304.
- "History of Indiana from 1850 to the Present", by Logan Esarey, reviewed, 738.
- "History of Labour in the United States", ed. J. R. Commons, reviewed, 698.
- "History of Latin America", by W. W. Sweet, reviewed, 741.
- "History of Missouri", by E. M. Viollette, reviewed, 284.
- "History of Spain founded on the Historia de España of Rafael Altamira", by C. E. Chapman, reviewed, 720.
- "History of Statistics", ed. John Koren, reviewed, 268.
- "History of Suffrage in the United States", by K. H. Porter, reviewed, 730.

- "History of Tammany Hall", by Gustavus Myers, reviewed, 488.
- "History of the British Army", VIII., by J. W. Fortescue, reviewed, 89.
- "History of the Civil War", by J. F. Rhodes, reviewed, 520.
- "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland", II., by S. M. Dubnow, reviewed, 726.
- "History of the Penal, Reformatory, and Correctional Institutions of the State of New Jersey", by H. E. Barnes, reviewed, 515.
- "History of the Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies", by C. D. Allin, reviewed, 130.
- History of the War of 1917*, by J. R. M. TAYLOR, 637-640.
- "History of the World War", II., by F. H. Simonds, reviewed, 295.
- Hjort-Lorenzen, H. R., representative of North Sleswick, 228, 242.
- Hoagland, H. E., "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- Hobson, E. G., "Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York", reviewed, 486.
- Hobson, J. A., "Richard Cobden, the International Man", reviewed, 685.
- HOCKETT, H. C., (R) Martin's "Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky", 137; "Western Influence on Political Parties", reviewed, 300.
- Hohenlohe, Prince Conrad, 196-200, 207-208, 212, 219, 224, 225.
- Holland, *see* Netherlands.
- "Holy Roman Empire in German Literature", by E. H. Zeydel, reviewed, 722.
- HORNBECK, S. K., (R) Bland's "Li Hung Chang", 92.
- "Household of a Tudor Nobleman", by P. V. B. Jones, reviewed, 291.
- Houston, Sam, letters from, 261-263.
- Hovelague, Émile, "Deeper Causes of the War", reviewed, 677.
- Hovell, Mark, "Chartist Movement", reviewed, 90.
- "How the World Votes", by C. Seymour and D. P. Frary, reviewed, 654.
- Howe, M. A. D., "The Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts", reviewed, 737.
- Hruschewskyj, M., "Geschichte der Ukraine", reviewed, 666.
- Hughes, Price, Indian agent, 393-394.
- HULME, E. M., (R) Menzies's "Study of Calvin", 469; (R) Tilley's "Dawn of the French Renaissance", 466.
- "Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts", by M. A. D. Howe, reviewed, 737.
- Hunkers, 415, 420.
- Iberville, Sieur d', 381-385, 388.
- IDDINGS, J. P., (R) Pumpelly's "Reminiscences", 107.
- Illinois, Centennial History of, II., reviewed, 708.
- Illinois, Pease's "The Frontier State", reviewed, 708.
- "Illinois and Michigan Canal: a Study in Economic History", by J. W. Putnam, reviewed, 139.
- Illinois University Studies in the Social Sciences, VI., reviewed, 291.
- "Imperial England", by C. F. Lavell and C. E. Payne, reviewed, 271.
- India, Roberts's "Historical Geography of the British Dependencies", VII., pt. 1, reviewed, 122; Jones's "Warren Hastings in Bengal", reviewed, 724.
- "Indiana, Constitution Making in", by Charles Kettleborough, reviewed, 303.
- Indiana Historical Commission, publications reviewed, 303.
- "Indiana, History of", II., by Logan Esarey, reviewed, 738.
- Indians, of South Carolina, 380-395.
- Ingersoll, Jared, quoted, 77.
- International law, Scott's "International relations between the United States and Germany", 494; Balch's "World Court in the Light of the United States Supreme Court", reviewed, 521; Schücking and Wehberg's "The Work of the Hague", reviewed, 687.
- Iowa Economic History Series, reviewed, 304.
- "Iowa, History of Economic Legisla-

- tion in", by I. L. Pollock, reviewed, 304.
- "Ireland, Constitutional and Parliamentary History of, till the Union", by J. G. S. MacNeill, reviewed, 272.
- "Israel's Settlement in Canaan: the Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background", by C. F. Burney, reviewed, 719.
- "Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations", reviewed, 127.
- Izvol'sky, Russian minister of foreign affairs, 50.
- Jackson, Daniel, Dem.-Rep. leader, 404.
- "James I., Political Works of", ed. C. H. McIlwain, reviewed, 672.
- James, duke of York, 581, 597, 599-600, 602.
- James, E. J., (introd.) "Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois", reviewed, 285.
- "Japan, Development of", by K. S. Latourette, reviewed, 128.
- "Japan or Germany: the Inside Story of the Struggle in Siberia", by Frederic Coleman, reviewed, 512.
- "Japan: the Rise of a Modern Power", by R. P. Porter, reviewed, 129.
- Japikse, N., "Handboek tot de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland", reviewed, 663.
- "Jasper Mauduit, Agent in London for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay", reviewed, 134.
- JASTROW, MORRIS, jr., (R) Frazer's "Folk-lore in the Old Testament", 655.
- Jay, John, 36, 38-47.
- JERNEGAN, M. W., "Source Problems in American History", reviewed, 512; (R) Calhoun's "Social History of the American Family", 700.
- Jessen, Jens, deputy to Reichstag, 243.
- JEWETT, J. R., (R) "Ta' rikh-i-Jahân-Gusha", 290.
- "Jews, History of, in Russia and Poland", II., by S. M. Dubnow, reviewed, 726.
- Johannsen, Gustav, founder of Danish Language Union, 250.
- "John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony", ed. Champlin Burrage, reviewed, 281.
- Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXXVI., reviewed, 121, 505.
- Johnson, Sir Nathaniel, 387, 391.
- Jones, A. E., deceased, 143.
- Jones, L. C., "Simon Goulart", reviewed, 506.
- Jones, M. E. M., "Warren Hastings in Bengal", reviewed, 724.
- Jones, P. V. B., "Household of a Tudor Nobleman", reviewed, 291.
- "Jordanes, Gothic History of", by C. C. Mierow, reviewed, 659.
- "Judaean Addresses, Selected", II., reviewed, 98.
- Junggreen, J. P., and Danish Language Union, 250.
- Justin Winsor prize awarded, 351.
- Kaiser's Secret Negotiations with the Tsar, 1904-1905*, by S. B. Fay, 48-72; publication of telegrams, 48-50; policy of William II., 51-54; visit of Edward VII., 55; the Kaiser and the Russo-Japanese War, 56-59; the Björkö treaty, 60-69; annulment of treaty, 70-72.
- Károlyi, Count Aloys, 202, 214.
- Keller, Count, Russian general, 57.
- Kelly, C. G., "French Protestantism", reviewed, 505.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M., (R) Davies's "Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise", 506; (R) Perrin's "Autobiography of Phineas Pett", 723.
- "Kentucky, Anti-Slavery Movement in, prior to 1850", by A. E. Martin, reviewed, 137.
- Kettleborough, C., "Constitution Making in Indiana", reviewed, 303.
- Kilwardby, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, 575.
- King, L. W., "Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition", reviewed, 463.
- KING, W. I., (R) Koren's "History of Statistics", 268.
- Kinley, David, (ed.) Glasson's "Fed-

- eral Military Pensions in the United States", reviewed, 709.
- Kite, E. S., "Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence", reviewed, 293.
- Kjellen, Rudolf, "Die Politischen Probleme des Weltkrieges", reviewed, 727.
- Koller, A. H., "Theory of Environment", reviewed, 503.
- Köller, E. M. von, Oberpräsident of North Sleswick, 246.
- Koren, John, (ed.) "History of Statistics", reviewed, 268.
- Krüger, Hans, representative of North Sleswick, 229-230, 232, 250.
- Kühlmann, Dr. von, chargé at Tangiers, 64.
- La Blache, *see* Vidal de la Blache.
- "Labour in the United States, History of", ed. J: R. Commons, reviewed, 698.
- Laffan, R. G. D., "Guardians of the Gate", reviewed, 93.
- Lamsdorf, Count Vladimir, 57, 62, 70.
- Lappo-Danilevskii, A. S., deceased, 526.
- LAPRADE, W: T:., (R) Brown's "French Revolution in English History", 676.
- Larmeroux, Jean, "La Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie", reviewed, 510.
- Larned, J. N., "English Leadership", reviewed, 507.
- LARSON, L. M., *Prussianism in North Sleswick*, 227-252; (R) Lees's "Alfred the Great", 662; (R) Egan's "Ten Years near the German Frontier", 692.
- "Latin America, History of", by W: W. Sweet, reviewed, 741.
- Latin America, *see also* Spanish America.
- Latourette, K. S., "Development of Japan", reviewed, 128.
- Lauridsen, P., Danish educator, 249.
- LAVELL, C. F., "Imperial England", reviewed, 271; (R) McLaughlin's "America and Britain", 740.
- Leçay-Marnésie, prefect, 621.
- Lee, Gideon, 404, 412.
- Lees, B. A., "Alfred the Great", reviewed, 662.
- Leffingwell, G. W., "Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence", reviewed, 269.
- Le Flô, Gen. A. E. C., 198, 205, 208-209, 217.
- "Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition", by L. W. King, reviewed, 463.
- Leggett, William, 399-400, 409, 416.
- Lentulus, consul, 9.
- Leonard, L. A., "Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton", reviewed, 485.
- Lepidus, Marcus Aemilius, 4.
- Lesquier, Jean, "Études de M. Haskins sur les Institutions Normandes de Guillaume le Conquérant au XIII^e Siècle", reviewed, 78.
- Leupp, F. E., "George Westinghouse, his Life and Achievements", reviewed, 283.
- Lévy, Arthur, "Napoléon et la Paix", 608.
- "Li Hung Chang", by J. O. P. Bland, reviewed, 92.
- "Libertador Bolívar y el Deán Funes", by J. F. V. Silva, reviewed, 116.
- "Life and Diary of John Floyd", by C: H. Ambler, reviewed, 518.
- "Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale", by E: E. Hale, reviewed, 302.
- "Life and Times of Stephen Girard", by J: B. McMaster, reviewed, 706.
- "Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton", by L. A. Leonard, reviewed, 485.
- Lincoln, Abraham, war powers of, 625-629.
- "Lincoln in Illinois", by Octavia Roberts, reviewed, 302.
- "Literature, American Spirit in", by Bliss Perry, reviewed, 729.
- "Literature, Cambridge History of American", I., II., ed. W: P. Trent, J: Erskine, S. P. Sherman, Carl van Doren, reviewed, 100, 702.
- Little, A. G., "Studies in English Franciscan History", reviewed, 80.
- LIVERMORE, W. R., (R) Rhodes's "History of the Civil War", 520.
- Locofocos, Diverging Tendencies in*

- New York Democracy in the Period of the*, by W. J. TRIMBLE, 396-421.
- Lonn, Ella, "Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868", reviewed, 109.
- "Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1675-1696", by R. P. Bieber, reviewed, 732.
- Lornsen, Uwe Jens, Danish nationalist, 228.
- "Lost Fruits of Waterloo", by J. S. Bassett, reviewed, 509.
- Louis XIV. and Dover treaty, 597, 599.
- Louis XVIII., 621, 622.
- "Louis-Philippe d'après des Documents Inédits", by Denys Cochin, reviewed, 471.
- "Louisiana, Reconstruction in", by Ella Lonn, reviewed 109.
- Low, A. M., "Woodrow Wilson, an Interpretation", reviewed, 715.
- Lucullus, Lucius Licinius, 6-8, 13, 22.
- "Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation", reviewed, 671.
- "Luxemburg and Her Neighbors", by Ruth Putnam, reviewed, 665.
- Lyons, Lord, 196, 199.
- Maas, O., (ed.) "Cartas de China", reviewed, 128.
- Macaulay, T. B., 580.
- McCain, J. R., "Georgia as a Proprietary Province", reviewed, 481.
- McClellan, William, letter from, 260.
- MCGRANE, R. C., (R) Ambler's "Life and Diary of John Floyd", 518.
- McIlwain, C. H., (ed.) "Political Works of James I.", reviewed, 672.
- MACKALL, L. L., (R) McCain's "Georgia as a Proprietary Province", 481; (R) Baxter and Dearborn's "Confederate Literature", 492.
- McKee, David, affidavit of, 255.
- "Mackinac, Historic", by E. O. Wood, reviewed, 102.
- McLaughlin, A. C., "Source Problems in American History", reviewed, 512; "America and Britain", reviewed, 740.
- McMaster, J. B., "United States in the World War", reviewed, 496;
- "Life and Times of Stephen Girard", reviewed, 706.
- Macmillan, K. D., "Protestantism in Germany", reviewed, 86.
- MacNeill, J. G. S., "Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union", reviewed, 272.
- McPherson, W. L., (trans.) "The Vandal of Europe", reviewed, 294.
- MACY, JESSE, (R) Porter's "History of Suffrage in the United States", 730.
- MAGOFFIN, R. V. D., *Historical Work by Army General Staffs*, 630-636.
- Mahaffy, Sir J. P., deceased, 748.
- "Mahan on Naval Warfare", ed. Allan Westcott, reviewed, 718.
- Makers of the Nineteenth Century, reviewed, 92, 685.
- Manchester, University of, Historical series, XXXI., XXXII., reviewed, 81, 90.
- Manlius, Lucius, proconsul, 5.
- "Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley" by Louis Pelzer, reviewed, 138.
- Marcy, W. L., and Locofocos, 400, 404-406, 408-409, 411-415.
- Marcy, *Diary and Memoranda of William L.*, 1849-1851, 1857 (doc.), 444-462, 641-653.
- "Maria Theresia, ihr Leben und ihre Regierung", by Eugen Guglia, reviewed, 674.
- Marius, Caius, 3.
- Marriott, J. A. R., "Evolution of Prussia", reviewed, 677.
- MARSHALL, T. M., *Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy* (doc.), 444-462, 641-653.
- Martin, A. E., "Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky", reviewed, 137.
- "Massachusetts Historical Society Collections", LXXIV., reviewed, 134.
- "Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings", LI., reviewed, 298.
- "Massachusetts Bay, Jasper Mauduit, Agent in London for the Province of", reviewed, 134.
- "Materialy dlia Istorii Gangutskoi Operatsii", I., reviewed, 124.
- Mathiez, Albert, "La Révolution et les Étrangers", reviewed, 125; "La

- Conspiracy de l'Étranger", reviewed, 724.
- Mauve, Karl, Landrath of Haderslev, 248.
- Means, P. A., (ed.) Sancho's "Account of the Conquest of Peru", 498.
- Medieval history, Robinson's "Conversion of Europe", reviewed, 464; Tillet's "Dawn of the French Renaissance", reviewed, 466; Mierow's "Gothic History of Jordanes", reviewed, 659.
- Menzies, Allan, "Study of Calvin and Other Papers", reviewed, 469.
- "Merchant Marine, Old", by R. D. Paine, reviewed, 733.
- Merlant, Joachim, "La France et la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine", reviewed, 517.
- Merriman, R. B., "Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New", reviewed, 83.
- Metellus Celer, Q., proconsul, 17.
- Metellus Pius, Quintus Caecilius, consul, 5-6.
- Metternich, C. W., prince, 616, 618, 619, 621, 623.
- "Mexico, Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the Great City of Temestitan", by the Anonymous Conqueror, reviewed, 498.
- Michigan Historical Publications, University Series, II., IV., reviewed, 135, 490.
- "Michigan, Political Parties in", by F. B. Streeter, reviewed, 490.
- Mierow, C. C., "Gothic History of Jordanes", reviewed, 659.
- "Militarism and Statecraft", by Munroe Smith, reviewed, 278.
- Military history, Fortescue's "History of the British Army", VIII., reviewed, 89; Simonds's "History of the World War", II., reviewed, 295; Freytag-Loringhoven's "Nation trained in Arms", reviewed, 504; Rhodes's "History of the Civil War", 520.
- Minnesota, Hansen's "Old Fort Snelling", reviewed, 139.
- Minnesota University Studies in the Social Sciences, VII., reviewed, 130.
- Mirzá Muhammad, (ed.) "Ta' rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá", I., II., reviewed, 290.
- "Miscellaneous Addresses", by Elihu Root, reviewed, 132.
- "Missouri, History of", by E. M. Violette, reviewed, 284.
- Mithradates, king of Pontus, 6-8, 13, 15, 23.
- Mittelman, E. B., "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- "Modern and Contemporary European History", by J. S. Schapiro, reviewed, 276.
- Monk, and the Convention Parliament, 586.
- MONROE, PAUL, (R) Powell's "Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois", I., 285.
- Moore, Ely, 396-399.
- Moore, James, gov. of South Carolina, 380, 384-388, 391.
- MOORE, J. B., "Principles of American Diplomacy", reviewed, 131; (R) Davenport's "European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648", 280.
- "Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance", by M. H. Weil, reviewed, 124.
- MORAN, T. F., (R) Kettleborough's "Constitution Making in Indiana", 303.
- Morier, Sir Robert, 196, 208, 210.
- Morris, Gouverneur, 33.
- MORRIS, W. A., (R) Adams's "Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History", 120.
- MOSES, BERNARD, (R) Merriman's "Rise of the Spanish Empire", 83.
- Moulton, H. G., "Readings in the Economics of War", reviewed, 477.
- Mowat, R. B., "Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century", reviewed, 275.
- Mühlön, Wilhelm, "Vandal of Europe", reviewed, 294.
- Münster, Count, German ambassador to England, 210, 224.
- "My Reminiscences", by Raphael Pumpelly, reviewed, 107.
- Myers, Gustavus, "History of Tammany Hall", reviewed, 488.

- Nairne, Thomas, Indian agent, 380, 390-393, 395.
- Napoleon, Coalition of Europe against*, by ÉDOUARD DRIAULT, 603-624.
- "Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the Great City of Temestitan Mexico", by the Anonymous Conqueror, reviewed, 498.
- "Nation Trained in Arms or a Militia?" by von Freytag-Loringhoven, reviewed, 504.
- "National Governments and the World War", by F. A. Ogg and C. A. Beard, reviewed, 693.
- "Naval Warfare, Mahan on", ed. Allan Westcott, reviewed, 718.
- Navy Records Society, "Publications", LL., reviewed, 723.
- Neely, T. B., "Doctrinal Standards of Methodism", reviewed, 133.
- "Negro Migration, Century of", by C. G. Woodson, reviewed, 520.
- Netherlands, Gosses and Japikse's "Handboek tot de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland", reviewed, 663.
- Newcomer, Mabel, "Separation of State and Local Revenues in the United States", reviewed, 136.
- "New Jersey, History of the Penal, Reformatory, and Correctional Institutions of the State of", by H. E. Barnes, reviewed, 515.
- New Orleans, Villiers's "Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans", reviewed, 479.
- New York city, Myers's "History of Tammany Hall", reviewed, 488.
- New York Democracy in the Period of the Locofocos, Diverging Tendencies in*, by W. J. TRIMBLE, 396-421.
- "New York, Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of", by E. G. Hobson, reviewed, 486.
- Nicholas II., 48-72.
- Nichols, F. M., "Epistles of Erasmus", III., reviewed, 669.
- Nicholson, Sir Francis, lieut.-gov. of Va., 383.
- Nicomedes III., king of Bithynia, 6.
- "Norman Institutions", by C. H. Haskins, reviewed, 78.
- Nothomb, J. B., 206.
- "Nürnberg, Sumptuary Law in", by K. R. Greenfield, reviewed, 121.
- Oakes, Augustus, "Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century", reviewed, 275.
- OBERHOLTZER, E. P., (R) Pennypacker's "Autobiography", 110.
- Ogg, F. A., "Economic Development of Modern Europe", reviewed, 273; (R) Bassett's "Lost Fruits of Waterloo", 509; "National Governments and the World War", reviewed, 693.
- O'HARA, J. F., (R) Wright's "Santiago de Cuba and its District", 742.
- Ohio State University Bulletin, XXII. 3, reviewed, 300.
- OLDFATHER, W. A., (R) Leffingwell's "Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence", 269.
- "Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858", by M. L. Hansen, reviewed, 139.
- "Old Merchant Marine", by R. D. Paine, reviewed, 733.
- Oriental history, "Ta' rikh-i-Jahân-Gushâ of 'Alâ'u 'd-Dîn 'atâ Malik-i-Juwaynî", ed. Mirzâ Muhammad, reviewed, 290.
- Origin of English Political Parties*, by W. C. ABBOTT, 578-602; function, 578-583; religious aspect, 584-588; leadership of Clarendon, 589-594; the Cabal, 595-597; Court and Country, 598-602.
- Oscar II., 66.
- Osgood, H. L., deceased, 144.
- Osten-Sacken, Count, 70.
- Ottobon, cardinal-legate, 573.
- Oubril, Baron d', treaty of, 608.
- "Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History", by G. B. Adams, reviewed, 120.
- Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, IX., reviewed, 724.
- Packer, Thomas, case of *Dering v. Packer*, 76.

- Paine, R. D., "Old Merchant Marine", reviewed, 733.
- Painlevé, Paul, (introd.) Barclay's "Le Président Wilson", reviewed, 112.
- Pais, Ettore, "Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma", III., reviewed, 118.
- Palmer, F., "America in France", reviewed, 712.
- "Papers of Thomas Ruffin", I., ed. J. G. deR. Hamilton, reviewed, 299.
- PATON, L. B., (R) Burney's "Israel's Settlement in Canaan", 719.
- Payne, C. E., "Imperial England", reviewed, 271.
- Pease, T. C., "The Frontier State", reviewed, 708.
- Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 574, 575.
- Pelzer, Louis, "Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley", reviewed, 138.
- "Péninsule Balkanique: Géographie Humaine", by Jovan Cvijić, reviewed, 690.
- Pennypacker, S. W., "Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian", reviewed, 110.
- "Pensions, Federal Military, in the United States", by W. H. Glasson, reviewed, 709.
- PÉREZ, L. M., (R) Wright's "Early History of Cuba", 500.
- Pertman, Selig, "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- Perrin, W. G., (ed.) "Autobiography of Phineas Pett", reviewed, 723.
- Persia, "Ta' rikh-i-Jahān-Gushā of 'Alā'u 'd-Din 'atā Malik-i-Juwaynī", ed. Mīrzā Muhammad, reviewed, 290.
- "Peru, Account of the Conquest of", by Pedro Sancho, reviewed, 498.
- "Pett, Phineas, Autobiography of", ed. W. G. Perrin, reviewed, 723.
- "Philadelphia, Romance of Old", by J. T. Faris, reviewed, 516.
- "Philippines to the End of the Commission Government", by C. B. Elliott, reviewed, 113.
- "Philippines to the End of the Military Régime", by C. B. Elliott, reviewed, 113.
- Phillimore, W. G. F., "Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace and their Teaching", reviewed, 292.
- Phillipson, Coleman, "Alsace-Lorraine, Past, Present, and Future", reviewed, 667.
- Picard, Lieut.-Col. E., 632.
- "Pilgrims and their History", by R. G. Usher, reviewed, 514.
- Pinckney, Thomas, U. S. minister to Great Britain, 37.
- Pius VII., pope, and Napoleon, 606, 607.
- "Plymouth Colony, John Pory's Lost Description of", ed. Champlin Bursage, reviewed, 281.
- Polignac, military attaché at Berlin, 202, 219.
- "Political History of the Public Lands from 1840 to 1862", by G. M. Stephenson, reviewed, 301.
- "Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860", by F. B. Streeter, reviewed, 490.
- "Political Works of James I.", ed. C. H. McIlwain, reviewed, 672.
- "Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche Hongrie", by Jean Larmeroux, reviewed, 510.
- "Politischen Probleme des Weltkrieges", by Rudolf Kjellen, reviewed, 727.
- Pollard, Hugh, aide of Clarendon, 592.
- Pollock, I. L., "History of Economic Legislation in Iowa", reviewed, 304.
- Pompey, extraordinary commands of, 1-7, 11-24.
- Ponte, A. F., "La Revolución de Carácas y sus Próceres", reviewed, 743.
- Pontissara, J. de, 576.
- PORRITT, EDWARD, (R) MacNeill's "Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union", 272; "Evolution of the Dominion of Canada", reviewed, 286, 524.
- Porter, K. H., "History of Suffrage in the United States", reviewed, 730.
- Porter, R. P., "Japan: the Rise of a Modern Power", reviewed, 129.
- "Pory, John, Lost Description of Plymouth Colony", ed. Champlin Bursage, reviewed, 281.

- Powell, B. E., "Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois", I., reviewed, 285.
- Prague, treaty of, 227-232, 251-252.
- "President's Control of Foreign Relations", communication, 306.
- "Président Wilson et l'Évolution de la Politique Étrangère des États-Unis", by Sir Thomas Barclay, reviewed, 112.
- "Principles of American Diplomacy", by J. B. Moore, reviewed, 131.
- "Processes of History", by F. J. Teggart, reviewed, 266.
- "Protestantism in Germany", by Kerr D. Macmillan, reviewed, 86.
- "Prussia, Evolution of", by J. A. R. Marriott and C. G. Robertson, reviewed, 677.
- Prussian Peasantry before 1807*, by G. S. Ford, 358-378; bond and free peasantry, 358-360; geographical variations, 361-363; money payments, 364-365; organization of an east-Elbe estate, 366-369; obligations of peasant and lord, 370-377; the royal domain, 377-378.
- Prussianism in North Sleswick*, by L. M. Larson, 227-252; Article V., 227-232; optants and *heimatlose*, 233-238; Germanization of schools, courts, churches, etc., 238-242; suppression of Danish nationalism, 242-248; Danish resistance, 249-252.
- "Public Lands, Political History of the", by G. M. Stephenson, reviewed, 301.
- "Public Life of Zachariah Chandler", by W. C. Harris, reviewed, 135.
- "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society", no. 26, reviewed, 298.
- Pulsford, Edward, "Commerce and the Empire", reviewed, 296.
- Pumpelly, Raphael, "My Reminiscences", reviewed, 107.
- Purcell, R. J., "Connecticut in Transition", reviewed, 736.
- Putnam, J. W., "Illinois and Michigan Canal", reviewed, 139.
- Putnam, Ruth, "Luxemburg and her Neighbors", reviewed, 665.
- Quaife, M. M., (ed.) "English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin", reviewed, 519.
- Quary, Col. Robert, on colonial expansion, 386-387.
- Queen Anne's War, Southern Frontier in*, by V. W. Crane, 379-395.
- Radolin, Prince von, German ambassador, 63.
- Radowitz, J. von, 197-198, 203-206, 210-211, 224.
- Raleigh, Walter, (introd.) Hovelague's "Deeper Causes of the War", reviewed, 677.
- Randolph, Edmund, sec. of state, 43.
- Ravenel, F. L., "Women and the French Tradition", reviewed, 123.
- "Raymond, Autobiography of Thomas", ed. G. Davies, reviewed, 506.
- "Readings in the Economics of War", by J. M. Clark, W. H. Hamilton, and H. G. Moulton, reviewed, 477.
- "Real Business of Living", by J. H. Tufts, reviewed, 118.
- "Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868", by Ella Lonn, reviewed, 109.
- "Records of the Columbia Historical Society", XXI., reviewed, 299.
- Reformation, Menzies's "Study of Calvin", reviewed, 469.
- "Reformation, Die Ursachen der", by G. von Below, reviewed, 468.
- "Reformation, Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der", reviewed, 671.
- Religious history, Little's "Studies in English Franciscan History", reviewed, 80; Macmillan's "Protestantism in Germany", reviewed, 86; Graham's "Abbot of Vézelay", reviewed, 290; Robinson's "Conversion of Europe", reviewed, 464; von Below's "Die Ursachen der Reformation", reviewed, 468; Kelly's "French Protestantism", reviewed, 505; SWEET's *English Benedictines and their Bishops in the Thirteenth Century*, 565-577.
- "Renaissance, Dawn of the French", by Arthur Tilley, reviewed, 466.

- "Revolución de Carácas y sus Próceres", by A. F. Ponte, reviewed, 743.
- "Révolution et les Étrangers", by Albert Mathiez, reviewed, 125.
- Rhodes, J. F., (introd.) Baxter and Dearborn's "Confederate Literature", reviewed, 492; "History of the Civil War", reviewed, 520.
- "Ribas, Biografía del General José Félix", by J. V. González, reviewed, 116.
- "Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma", III., Ettore Pais, reviewed, 118.
- Rich, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 568.
- "Richard Cobden, the International Man", by J. A. Hobson, reviewed, 685.
- "Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as told in the Lives of their Liberators", by W: S. Robertson, reviewed, 288.
- "Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New", by R. B. Merriman, reviewed, 83.
- Rives, W: C., U. S. senator, 410.
- Roberts, Octavia, "Lincoln in Illinois", reviewed, 302.
- Roberts, P. E., "Historical Geography of the British Empire", VII., pt. 1, reviewed, 122.
- Robertson, C. G., "Evolution of Prussia", reviewed, 677.
- ROBERTSON, J. A., (R) Elliott's "Philippines to the End of the Commission Government", "Philippines to the End of the Military Régime", 113.
- ROBERTSON, W: S., "Rise of the Spanish-American Republics", reviewed, 288; (R) Ponte's "La Revolución de Carácas", 743.
- Robinson, C: H., "Conversion of Europe", reviewed, 464.
- Robinson, E. E., "Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson", reviewed, 112.
- ROBINSON, PASCHAL, (R) Little's "Studies in English Franciscan History", 81.
- "Romance of Old Philadelphia", by J: T. Faris, reviewed, 516.
- Rome, Boak's *Extraordinary Commands from 80 to 48 B. C.*, 1-25; Pais's "Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma", III., reviewed, 118.
- "Rome, Short History of", I., by G. Ferrero and C. Barbagallo, reviewed, 504.
- "Rome, Social and Private Life at, in the Time of Plautus and Terence", by G. W. Leffingwell, reviewed, 269.
- Romeyn, J: le, archbishop of York, 571.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, deceased, 349, 525.
- Root, Elihu, "Miscellaneous Addresses", reviewed, 132.
- "Roots of the War", by W: S. Davis, W: Anderson, and M. W. Tyler, reviewed, 94.
- Rouvier, Maurice, and Morocco crisis, 65.
- Rowe, H: K., (R) Tufts's "Real Business of Living", 118; (R) Howe's "Humane Society of Massachusetts", 737.
- "Royal Government in Virginia, 1624-1775", by P. S. Flippin, reviewed, 731.
- Royal Historical Society, "Transactions", ser. 3, vol. XI., ser. 4, vol. I., reviewed, 119, 717.
- "Ruffin, Thomas, Papers of", I., ed. J. G. deR. Hamilton, reviewed, 299.
- Rullus, P. Servilius, tribune, 14.
- Russell, Lord Odo, 198, 201, 210, 211, 214, 216, 218.
- Russia, diplomatic history of, 48-72; "Materialy dlia Istorii Gangutskoi Operatsii", reviewed, 124; Grumbach's "Brest-Litowsk", reviewed, 511.
- "Russia, Eclipse of", by E. J. Dillon, reviewed, 475.
- "Russia, War and Revolution in", by Basil Gourko, reviewed, 695.
- Ryan, E: G., 419.
- Sacheverell, William, and Country party, 581, 600.
- Saint-André, Jean Bon, prefect, 621.
- Sancho, Pedro, "Account of the Conquest of Peru", reviewed, 498.

- "Santiago de Cuba and its District, 1607-1640", by I. A. Wright, reviewed, 742.
- "Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future", by Otto Schoenrich, reviewed, 502.
- Saposs, D. J., "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- Saville, M. H., (ed.) "Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the City of Temestitan Mexico", reviewed, 498.
- Schapiro, J. S., "Modern and Contemporary European History", reviewed, 276.
- Schebeko, personal attaché to Kaiser, 57.
- SCHEVILL, FERDINAND, (R) Schapiro's "Modern and Contemporary European History", 276; (R) Cvijić's "La Péninsule Balkanique", 690.
- Schlesinger, A. M., "Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution", reviewed, 104; awarded Justin Winsor prize, 351.
- SCHMIDT, NATHANIEL, (R) "Judaean Addresses", 99.
- SCHMITT, B. E., (R) Munroe Smith's "Militarism and Statecraft", 278; (R) Stern's "Geschichte Europas", VII., 680.
- Schoenrich, Otto, "Santo Domingo", reviewed, 502.
- Schücking, Walther, "International Union of the Hague Conferences", reviewed, 687.
- Schwarzenberg, K. P., prince of, 616, 619.
- Schweich Lectures, 1916, 1917, reviewed, 261, 719.
- Scipio, Publius Cornelius, 2, 6.
- Scipio Aemilianus, 2.
- Scott, A. P., "Source Problems in American History", reviewed, 512.
- Scott, J. B., "Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany", reviewed, 494.
- "Scott, Colonel John, of Long Island", by W. C. Abbott, reviewed, 704.
- Schröder, Richard, deceased, 310.
- SCROGGS, W. O., (R) Woodson's "A Century of Negro Migration", 520.
- Sébastien, Count Horace, quoted, 605.
- "Selection from the Miscellaneous Historical Papers of Fifty Years", by F. B. Dexter, reviewed, 514.
- "Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois", I., by B. E. Powell, reviewed, 285.
- "Separation of State and Local Revenues in the United States", by Mabel Newcomer, reviewed, 136.
- Serbia, Laffan's "Guardians of the Gate", reviewed, 93.
- Sertorius, 5-6.
- Severance, F. H., (ed.) Buffalo Historical Society "Publications", reviewed, 137.
- Seward, W. H., sec. of state, 626.
- SEYMOUR, CHARLES, (R) Davis's "Roots of the War", 94; (R) Oakes and Mowat's "Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century", 275; "How the World Votes", reviewed, 654.
- Seymour, Horatio, 415.
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st earl of, leader of Country party, 581, 600-601.
- "Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America", by C. M. Gayley, reviewed, 123.
- Shambaugh, B. F., (ed.) Iowa Economic History series, reviewed, 304.
- Shaw, Albert, Lectures, 1912, reviewed, 105.
- SHEPHERD, W. R., (R) Abbott's "Expansion of Europe", 87; (R) González's "Biografía del General José Félix Ribas", 116; Silva's "El Libertador Bolívar y el Deán Funes", 116; (R) Robertson's "Rise of the Spanish-American Republics", 288; (R) Sweet's "History of Latin America", 741.
- SHERMAN, S. P., (R) Bruce's "Benjamin Franklin Self-revealed", 483; (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", I., II., reviewed, 100, 702.
- "Short History of France", by Mary Duclaux, reviewed, 660.
- "Short History of Rome", I., by G. Ferrero and C. Barbagallo, reviewed, 504.

- SHORTT, ADAM, (R) Gray's "War Time Control of Industry", 96.
- Shotwell, J. T., (ed.) "Modern and Contemporary European History", reviewed, 276.
- Shuvalov, Count Peter, 209.
- "Siberia, Japan or Germany: the Inside Story of the Struggle in", by F: Coleman, reviewed, 512.
- Silva, J. F. V., "El Libertador Bolívar y el Deán Funes", reviewed, 116.
- "Simon Goulart, 1543-1628", by L. C. Jones, reviewed, 506.
- Simonds, F. H., "History of the World War", II., reviewed, 295.
- Sleswick, Prussianism in North*, by L. M. LARSON, 227-252.
- SMITH, J. H., (R) Pelzer's "Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley", 138.
- SMITH, MUNROE, "Militarism and Statecraft", reviewed, 278; (R) Hovelague's "Deeper Causes of the War", Marriott and Robertson's "Evolution of Prussia", 677.
- SMITH, PRESERVED, (R) Greenfield's "Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg", 121; (R) Below's "Die Ursachen der Reformation", 468; (R) "Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation", 671.
- SMITH, T. C., (R) Farrand's "Development of the United States", 478.
- "Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence", by G. W. Leffingwell, reviewed, 269.
- "Social History of the American Family", III., by A. W. Calhoun, reviewed, 700.
- Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Studies in Church History, reviewed, 290.
- Sorel, Albert, 610.
- "Source Problems in American History", by A. C. McLaughlin, reviewed, 512.
- "South America and the War", by F. A. Kirkpatrick, reviewed, 744.
- South Carolina, CRANE'S *Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War*, 379-395.
- Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War*, by V. W. CRANE, 379-395; the Indian trade, 379-381; French control of the Mississippi, 382-384; French and Spanish co-operation, 385-386; Apalache expedition, 387-389; Bienville and English southward ambitions, 390-393; collapse of the Carolina Indian system, 394-395.
- Spain, ancient history of, 5-6, 20.
- "Spain, History of", by C: E. Chapman, reviewed, 720.
- "Spanish-American Republics, Rise of the", by W: S. Robertson, reviewed, 288.
- "Spanish Empire, Rise of the", by R. B. Merriman, reviewed, 83.
- Spartacus, 9.
- Spotswood, Alexander, lieut.-gov. of Va.,
- Staël, Eric Magnus, Baron de, Swedish ambassador in Paris, 30.
- STANWOOD, E., (R) Seymour and Frary's "How the World Votes", 654.
- "Statistics, History of", ed. John Koren, reviewed, 268.
- Stein, H. F. K., baron, 364. 370-371.
- STEINER, B. C., (R) Leonard's "Life of Charles Carroll", 485.
- Steinmann, von, Oberpräsident of Sleswick-Holstein, 243.
- Stephens, H: M., deceased, 747.
- Stephenson, G: M., "Political History of the Public Lands", reviewed, 301.
- Stern, Alfred, "Geschichte Europas", III., VII., reviewed, 680, 726.
- Stieve, Friedrich, (trans.) Kjellen's "Die Politischen Probleme des Weltkrieges", reviewed, 727.
- Stiles, Ezra, on currency, 77.
- Streeter, F. B., "Political Parties in Michigan", reviewed, 490.
- "Studies in English Franciscan History", by A. G. Little, reviewed, 80.
- "Study of Calvin and Other Papers", by Allan Menzies, reviewed, 469.
- Stuermer, Harry, "Two War Years in Constantinople", reviewed, 97.
- "Suffrage, History of, in the United States", by K. H. Porter, reviewed, 730.
- Sulla, Lucius Cornelius, 1-4, 6, 10, 11.

- SULLIVAN, JAMES, (R) Hobson's "Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York", 486.
- Sumner, H. L., "History of Labour in the United States", reviewed, 698.
- "Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg", by K. R. Greenfield, reviewed, 121.
- "Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany", by J. B. Scott, reviewed, 494.
- Swartwout, Samuel, Dem.-Rep. leader, 404.
- Sweden, diplomatic history of, 29-47.
- SWEET, A. H., *English Benedictines and their Bishops in the Thirteenth Century*, 565-577.
- Sweet, W: W., "History of Latin America", reviewed, 741.
- Swinfield, Richard de, bishop of Hereford, 568.
- Switzerland, Dierauer's "Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft", V., reviewed, 683.
- "Switzerland, Government and Politics of", by R. C. Brooks, reviewed, 508.
- Talleyrand, and Fox, 607-608, 611; at Vienna, 621-622; Strassburg memoir, 616.
- Tallmadge, N. P., U. S. senator, 397-398, 404, 407-410, 420.
- "Tammany Hall, History of", by Gustavus Myers, reviewed, 488.
- "Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies, History of", by C. D. Allin, reviewed, 130.
- "Ta' rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá of 'Alá'u 'd-Din 'atá Malik-i-Juwayni", ed. Mírzá Muhammad, reviewed, 290.
- TAYLOR, J: R. M., *History of the War of 1917*, 637-640.
- Taylor, Zachary, 454-462.
- Teggart, F: J., "Processes of History", reviewed, 266.
- "Ten Years near the German Frontier", by M. F. Egan, reviewed, 692.
- TERRY, C: A., (R) Leupp's "George Westinghouse, his Life and Achievements", 283.
- THAYER, W: R., *Vagaries of Historians*, 183-195.
- "Theory of Environment", by A. H. Koller, reviewed, 503.
- THOMPSON, C. M., (R) Putnam's "Illinois and Michigan Canal", 139.
- Thompson, Waddy, 396.
- "Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace and their Teaching", by W. G: F. Phillimore, reviewed, 292.
- Thurloe, John, and Richard Cromwell, 586.
- Tilley, Arthur, "Dawn of the French Renaissance", reviewed, 466.
- "Times, The", London, 211-213, 223.
- Tirpitz, Admiral von, naval minister, 51.
- "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", ser. 3, vol. XL., ser. 4, vol. I., reviewed, 119, 717.
- TREAT, P. J., (R) Latourette's "Development of Japan", 128; (R) Porter's "Japan: the Rise of a Modern Power", 129.
- "Treaties bearing on the History of the United States", by F. G. Davenport, reviewed, 280.
- Trebonius, Gaius, tribune, 18.
- TRENHOLME, N. M., (R) Unwin's "Finance and Trade under Edward III.", 81.
- Trent, W: P., (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", I., II., reviewed, 100, 702.
- TRIMBLE, W: J., *Diverging Tendencies in New York Democracy in the Period of the Locofocos*, 396-421.
- Tsar, *Kaiser's Secret Negotiations with the, 1904-1905*, by S. B. Fay, 48-72.
- Tufts, J. H., "Real Business of Living", reviewed, 118.
- Turner, L. M., (trans.) "France, England, and European Democracy", reviewed, 472.
- Tyler, M. W., "Roots of the War", reviewed, 94.
- "Ukraine, Geschichte der", by M. Hruschewskij, reviewed, 666.
- "Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado", ed. J. F. Willard, reviewed, 739.
- United States and the Abortive Armed Neutrality of 1794*, by S. F. Bemis, 26-47.

- United States, Davenport's "European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648", reviewed, 280.
- "United States, Development of, from Colonies to a World Power", by Max Farrand, reviewed, 478.
- "United States in the World War", by J. B. McMaster, reviewed, 496.
- "United States, Survey of International Relations between the, and Germany", by J. B. Scott, reviewed, 494.
- "University of Illinois, Semi-Centennial History of", I., by B. E. Powell, reviewed, 285.
- Unwin, George, (ed.) "Finance and Trade under Edward III.", reviewed, 81.
- "Ursachen der Reformation", by G. von Below, reviewed, 468.
- USHER, R. G., (R) Gayley's "Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America", 123; (R) "John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony", 281; "Pilgrims and their History", reviewed, 514; (R) McIlwain's "Political Works of James I.", 672.
- Vagaries of Historians*, by W. R. Thayer, 183-195.
- Vallandigham, C. L., arrest of, 629.
- Van Buren, Martin, and Locofocos, 405-408, 410-416.
- Vandal, Albert, 610.
- "Vandal of Europe", by Wilhelm Mühlton, reviewed, 294.
- Vander Linden, H., "Vue Générale de l'Histoire de Belgique", reviewed, 121.
- van Doren, Carl, (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", I., II., reviewed, 100, 702.
- VAN TYNE, C. H., (R) Becker's "Eve of the Revolution", 734.
- Vashon, G., Indian agent, 255.
- VEBLER, THORSTEIN, (R) Ogg's "Economic Development of Modern Europe", 273; "The Higher Learning in America", reviewed, 714.
- Vedel, General, at Baylen, 611.
- Venezuela, González's "Biografía del General José Félix Ribas", reviewed, 116; Ponte's "La Revolución de Caracas", reviewed, 743.
- Vidal de la Blache, P., deceased, 144.
- Vienna, treaty of (1864), 244.
- Villiers, M. de, "Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans", reviewed, 479.
- VINCENT, J. M., (R) Brooks's "Government and Politics of Switzerland", 507.
- Violette, E. M., "History of Missouri", reviewed, 284.
- "Virginia, Royal Government in", by P. S. Flippin, reviewed, 731.
- "Vue Générale de l'Histoire de Belgique", by H. Vander Linden, reviewed, 121.
- Waldemar, prince of Denmark, 66.
- WALKER, WILLISTON, (R) Kelly's "French Protestantism", 505; (R) Jones's "Simon Goulart", 506; (R) Usher's "Pilgrims and their History", 514.
- WALLACE, W. S., (R) Porritt's "Evolution of the Dominion of Canada", 286, 524.
- "War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-1917", by Basil Gourko, reviewed, 695.
- "Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774", by M. E. M. Jones, reviewed, 724.
- War-Scare of 1875*, by J. V. FULLER, 196-226; Radowitz mission, 197-198; Law of the Fourth Battalions, 199-204; French appeal to Russia, 205-210; exposé in the "Times", 211-213; protests by England, Austria, and Russia, 214-218; position of Bismarck, 219-226.
- "War Time Control of Industry", by H. L. Gray, reviewed, 96.
- "Washington and his Colleagues", by H. J. Ford, reviewed, 735.
- Wehberg, Hans, "Problem of an International Court of Justice", reviewed, 687.
- Weil, M. H., "La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance", reviewed, 124.
- Welch, Thomas, 382, 390, 392.

- Welles, Hugh de, bishop of Lincoln, 576, 577.
- WELLINGTON, R. G., (R) Stephenson's "Political History of the Public Lands", 301.
- Wendell, Dr., chairman of Albany Democratic general committee, 408.
- Wenge, Baron von der, 57.
- "West Florida Controversy", by I. J. Cox, reviewed, 105.
- West, V. J., "Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson", reviewed, 112.
- Westcott, Allan, (ed.) "Mahan on Naval Warfare", reviewed, 718.
- Western history, Pelzer's "Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley", reviewed, 138.
- "Western Influence on Political Parties to 1825", by H. C. Hockett, reviewed, 300.
- "Westinghouse, George, his Life and Achievements", by F. E. Leupp, reviewed, 283.
- Wetmore, P. M., Dem.-Rep. leader, 404.
- Wetterlé, E., "Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag", reviewed, 473.
- Whalley, T., abbot of Selby, 566.
- Wharton, Franklin, letter from, 257.
- White, A. D., deceased, 309, 349.
- "Why We Went to War", by Christian Gauss, reviewed, 522.
- Wickwane, W., archbishop of York, 571, 573-574.
- WILCOX, D. F., (R) Myers's "History of Tammany Hall", 488.
- Willard, J. F., (ed.) "Union Colony at Greeley", reviewed, 739.
- William I., Germany, 202, 209, 217, 219.
- William II., Germany, 48-72.
- William of Orange 97.
- Williams, Basil, (ed.) "Makers of the Nineteenth Century", reviewed, 685.
- WILLIAMS, F. W., (K) Maas's "Cartas de China", 128.
- Willoughby, W: F., (ed.) Harper's Citizen's Series, reviewed 131
- "Willy-Nicky Correspondence", ed. Herman Bernstein, 48-72.
- WILSON, G: G., (R) Schücking and Wehberg's "Work of the Hague", 687.
- Wilson, Woodrow, Barclay's "Le Président Wilson et l'Évolution de la Politique Étrangère des États-Unis", reviewed, 112; war powers of, 628-630.
- "Wilson, Woodrow, an Interpretation", by A. M. Low, reviewed, 715.
- "Wilson, Woodrow, Foreign Policy of", by E. E. Robinson and V. J. West, reviewed, 112.
- Windthorst, Ludwig, 201, 222.
- "Wisconsin, English Settler in Pioneer", ed. M. M. Quaife, reviewed, 519.
- Wisconsin, State Historical Society, Collections, XXV., reviewed, 519.
- Witte, S. I., 56, 71-72.
- "Women and the French Tradition", by F. L. Ravenel, reviewed, 123.
- Wood, E. O., "Historic Mackinac", reviewed, 102.
- "Woodrow Wilson, an Interpretation", by A. M. Low, reviewed, 715.
- Woodson, C. G., "Century of Negro Migration", reviewed, 520.
- "Work of the Hague", by W. Schücking and H. Wehberg, reviewed, 687.
- "World Court in the Light of the United States Supreme Court", by T: W. Balch, reviewed, 521.
- Wright, I. A., "Early History of Cuba", reviewed, 500; "Santiago de Cuba and its District", reviewed, 742.
- Wright, Silas, 397, 415.
- Yarmouth, William Seymour, Lord, 608.
- Yorck, H. D. L., Count von, Prussian commander, 617.
- Zeydel, E. H., "Holy Roman Empire in German Literature", reviewed, 722.